HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

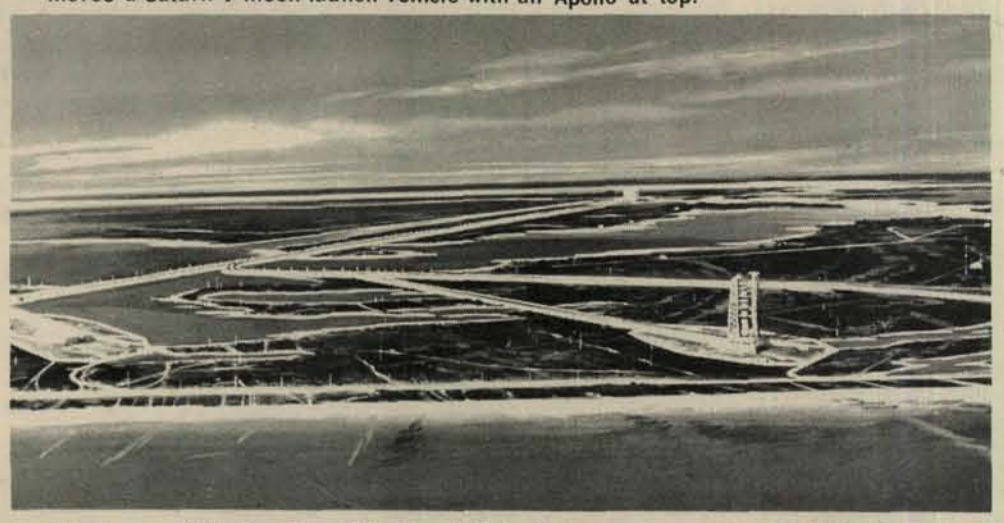
THIRTY-FIVE CENTS

March 13, 1965 Vol. XXV, No. 11

Copyright 1965 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.
Human Events is published weekly by HUMAN EVENTS, INC., 410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 · Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices.

$12.50 per year NEWSPAPER

Despite a non-strike pledge, over 4,000 men at Cape Kennedy walked off their jobs for several days in January because of union jurisdictional fighting over the building of the "crawlers," one of which is shown in the artist's drawing above as it moves a Saturn V moon launch vehicle with an Apollo at top.



This is an artist's drawing of the Merritt Island moonport complex, "a hotbed of unreasonable strikes."

Sen. Thomas Dodd on 'Viet Nam and the New Isolationism'

Page 7

Rep. Gross Wants Probe of Bank Charters

Page 3

MARCH is 5 WEEKS FOR $1 MONTH

SEE PAGE 6

Illegal Strikes at Moonport Have Cost U.S. $100 Million

By VICTOR RIESEL

A team of glass-helmeted American astronauts should be cautiously treading the lava beds of the moon by midnight, Dec. 31, 1969. That is the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's assignment from the White House.

To put the men down gently there must be 15 experimental Saturn flights. To meet the deadline every test, every plan, every pre-flight must move on precision schedules.

Yet, in the words of one of America's highest and most harried government officials, the Cape Kennedy and Merritt Island moonport complex is a "hotbed of unreasonable strikes and disruptive labor unrest which can only be described as terrible, unthinking and without consciousness of the urgency of the moment."

Well over $100 million have been lost in strikes (many of them illegal), though NASA's tight budget could ill afford it.

Only time can measure the actual loss in precision scheduling and delays in flights caused by walkouts—some of which are simply lunch time "beefs," some caused by "stranger picketing" and some by sheer power battles between rival unions.

Truly anguished NASA officials report 78 walkouts between Dec. 1, 1962 and Feb. 15, 1965. Total work loss has been 63,784 man days. This means there has been an average of more than five vital strikes a month. At least 35 of them have been illegal and have cost 49,596 man days.

Yet all of these stoppages could easily have been avoided. They were led by a handful of men who head some 4,000 building and construction workers—men who have solemly given their pledge not to strike under any circumstances.

This promise has been ignored as though it were a speed limit on a lonely road. Men who have been getting $5 an hour straight time, and others who have been earning from $200 to $400 a week have walked out knowing they could make their pay up with overtime work.

In the case of the iron workers, overtime pay is doubletime. It's in their by-laws. They don't go for time and a half.

At the moment, the iron workers are in the center of a crisis on the moonport island. There have been a series of peace conferences. The latest attracted 60 officials. The turbulence has been caused by the ironworkers' demand for jurisdiction over a project involving at most 40 jobs and, frequently, as few as 11 spots.

This is known to insiders as the "crawler crisis." The crawler is the behemoth machine known as a Tractor Crawler Transporter. One of these mechanical monsters has been built. A second is in the works. There are two more on order from 'the Marion (Ohio) Power Shovel Co.

Eventually the four will move the Apollo three-stage "Saturn Five" moon launch vehicle to its pad. Atop will rest the tip capsule. Inside will be the astronauts.

This crawler is being built by members of the United Steelworkers at good rates of pay. But the iron workers, union wants the job for its members. Last January 28 the iron workers struck three days to drive out the steel union members.

The strikers, though they had no jurisdiction over the crawler, according to the authorities, picketed, and 4,000 men stayed out. They quit on the morning of the 28th, though on the 27th Julius Kuczma, the judicious executive secretary of the President's Missile Sites Labor Commission sent a telegram to construction workers chief Clifford Baxley.

He was asked not to shut down the space port. But getting the telegram to him was more difficult than getting to the moon seas.

When he could not be located, the wire, asking only patience, was publicized in the press, radio and on TV. Yet the men struck the next day in violation of their no-strike pledge.

They returned to work after arranging a conference on February 19 in Miami's Federal Building. The conference was jammed with labor leaders from both sides, with NASA officials, Air Force men and members of the missile labor board.

U.S. Comptroller General Joe Campbell sent a carefully documented 10-page statement to the parley. He has final say over all U.S. contracts. He pointed out that the crawler agreement was properly drawn up. The shovel company had the right to retain the steel workers.

For five hours the handful of local rival construction unionists fought. They refused to accept the comptroller's decision.

Now it's all going back to Washington. If there is no agreement, insiders predict another costly strike.

The controversy over a handful of jobs at the speaceport will not help labor's image. If the local leaders care little about getting someone to the moon, they might give some thought to the public's indignant reaction here on earth.

(Distributed 1965 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ENTER MY SUBSCRIPTION TO HUMAN EVENTS
410 First Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003

☐ One year $12.50 ☐ Five weeks for $1 ☐ Lifetime $200

Name .....

Street .....

City .....Zone .....State .....

☐ Also, send me.....copies of the.....(date) issue of **Human Events**. $.35 per issue (coins, not stamps), 4 copies $1; 9 for $2; 25 copies $5; 52 copies $10; 110 copies $20; 300 copies $50; 500 copies $75; 1,000 copies $140. Allow three weeks for delivery. These prices are for regular delivery. Air Mail, Express, or Special Handling extra. In lots of 5,000 or more, $120 per thousand plus shipping cost.

Jury Re-Indicts Communist Party

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Morning Star*

Another effort is being made by the federal government to use the machinery of the courts to put the U.S. Communist party out of business. A federal grand jury in Washington recently re-indicted the part for failure to register as a Communist-action organization controlled by the Soviet Union.

Every loyal American will hope that this time the Department of Justice will be able to obtain a conviction and make it stick. The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington in 1963 reversed an earlier conviction, based on a similar indictment returned in 1961. In its ruling, the Court of Appeals held that the government had failed to prove that a willing volunteer was available to register the party.

To avoid that pitfall, the grand jury charged in the new indictment that the party had failed to register even though it was aware that a person was available and willing to register on behalf of the party. The new indictment charges the party with failure to register on each of 11 days from February 13 to February 23.

The Subversive Activities Control Act, requiring that Communist action organizations register with the Justice Department, specifies that each day of failure to register is a separate offense carrying a maximum penalty of $10,000. When previously convicted under the act, the Communist party was fined $120,000.

In reversing the 1962 conviction, the Court of Appeals, in effect, presumed to overrule the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled in 1961 that the registration provision of the Subversive Activities Control Act was constitutional. The high court also had held that under the Smith Act an individual could be prosecuted for "active" membership in the Communist party if he understood its objectives and his own agency in furthering its ends.

It has been 15 years since the Subversive Activities Control Act, also known as the McCarran-Walter Act, was enacted and the United States is still trying to force the U.S. Communist party to register as a Communist action organization. Justice has been delayed too long. The delay has deprived the American people of the protection afforded by their laws.

$2 Minimum Wage

AFL-CIO's Blueprint for Disaster

Courtesy St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

The Administration has adopted a Sphinx-like attitude toward labor's $2 minimum wage plan and its demand for a 35-hour week.

We trust that President Johnson has withheld action on these requests because he recognizes they are totally inconsistent with his stated economic goals of balancing our international payments, reducing unemployment and maintaining continued economic growth without inflation.

The result of hiking the minimum wage from $1.25 to $2 an hour should be apparent even to AFL-CIO's George Meany, if he will think it through.

If the federal government forces a business firm to pay an illiterate janitor $80 for a 40-hour week instead of the present $50, one of two things is likely to happen:

One, the employer might just fire the janitor who is simply not worth $80 a week to him, thus adding to the hard-core unemployed whose ranks we are trying so hard to cut.

Two, the clerk making $80 a week now would see his paycheck matched by the janitor and would demand a similar hike in pay of 60 per cent.

Does labor seriously contend the government can force this gigantic increase in pay for millions of America's lowest paid and not trigger the greatest wage hikes this nation has ever seen?

Certainly some businesses that have thin profit margins and rely upon a great deal of relatively cheap labor would simply have to close their doors, adding again to the unemployed and sloughing the economy.

Other firms that did not want their profit margins gutted by these wage hikes would do what comes naturally—pass the costs onto the consumer in the form of price hikes.

What labor is shooting for then is quite obviously massive wage and price inflation at a time when we must sell more abroad to correct a critical payments imbalance.

Even more incredible than labor's support of this blueprint for disaster is the backing of that Harlem dandy, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell. Does Playboy Powell not recognize that among the first and hardest hit of this foolish proposal would be illiterate and semi-literate Negroes of his own congressional district?

"GOLDWATER '68 ⟶ "

Bumper Stickers. 3 for $1.00 Bulk rates on request. Optimism, c/o John Hagerty, Apt. 2K, 33 Greenwich Ave., New York 14, New York.

BBC Has Banned Mention Of Red China, Cold War

By DUMITRU DANIELOPOL in the San Diego *Union*

The "iron curtain" exists no more, at least so far as the British Broadcasting Corp. is concerned.

The BBC, Britain's official radio-TV network, has barred the phrases "iron curtain," "cold war" and "red China" from its broadcasts.

Commenting on the elimination of "iron curtain," the Free Central European News Agency of London found it strange that this should have happened "at a moment when the entire civilized world is still mourning the great man —Winston Churchill—who first coined the phrase."

It was Churchill who said in a speech in Fulton, Mo., in 1946:

"From Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of central and eastern Europe—Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia."

Today, 19 years later, Churchill's "iron curtain" is still there in the form of barbed wire, concrete and watch towers. No edict of the BBC will remove it.

The BBC move was obviously promoted by the British Labor government in an attempt to woo the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe.

It was to be expected in a country which has been swinging toward the left for a long time.

"We are gradually going Red without realizing it," one conservative newspaperman told me in London last summer.

"Communist propaganda has done a tremendous job on the British people."

Red talk of "nuclear holocaust" has made a deep impression on the war-weary, bomb-scarred British. "Better Red than dead is not merely a slogan here," the newsman said. "It means something."

The Communist-inspired peace movements, the "ban-the-bomb" rallies and the arguments of such people as philosopher Bertrand Russell have found fertile ground.

Anti-Americanism has also been used to great advantage by the Communists. It was especially effective after the Suez crisis in which the United States opposed the British attack on Egypt. Some Britishers are still smarting about it 10 years later. They feel we were wrong and that they were justified in trying to oust Nasser.

Britain, it also must be remembered, has a peculiarly selfish view of the Communist satellite empire. "Liberation" has never been a battle cry in London.

Many Britons regard the Balkans and countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia as potential tinderboxes. They are content to tolerate Communist rule rather than risk unpredictable independence.

Behind this policy of "accommodation" is Britain's centuries-old preoccupation with trade. London has a desperate need to export. The Red market seems like the best bet. There is less buyer resistance than in the free world.

The "European Atlantic group" established two years ago to promote commerce with Communist countries comprises a number of influential people from the banking, business and industrial world. They have been accused of having vested interests in communism, but they have worked vigorously to open Eastern European markets.

The fact that long-term credits may never be repaid by the Communist countries doesn't seem to worry these British exporters.

Payment is eventually guaranteed by the government through the export credits guarantee department, they point out privately. This means the British taxpayer will foot the bill. But that bill may be more than Britain is willing to pay.

Was the BBC too quick to "bury Caesar"?

It might do well to remind its listeners what Winston Churchill had to say about socialism:

"Socialism is the philosophy of failure, the creed of ignorance and the gospel of envy . . . its inherent virtue is the equal sharing of miseries."

□ □ □

Federal Share Of Taxes Grows

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Government spenders keep telling us that government expenditures keep going up because the country is growing and with it the gross national product. But in 1929 the federal government was spending 2.5 per cent of the GNP. Even in 1936, the year of the biggest outlays in relief and welfare spending, the government was spending 10.3 per cent of the GNP. In 1963 that figure was 19.7 per cent of the GNP.

Or, if you wish, slice it this way. Again in that big-spending depression year of 1936, the per capita federal tax bite was $30 a year. In 1963, it was $543—and the difference cannot be blamed on inflation.

By courtesy of the Tax Foundation and Prentice-Hall comes one other debunked "explanation" for what the government takes. It is always said that though federal taxes have increased, the real villain in upping the ante has been state and local government. Perhaps, by juggling the facts, you can make this charge stick. But right before me, I can read it plain:

In 1932, the federal government took 22.7 per cent of every tax dollar with the balance going to state and local governments. By 1940, the federal take had risen to 39.2 per cent. And in 1963 it was 67.2. On the other hand, municipalities, which were getting 53.6 per cent in 1932, had slipped down to 14.8 per cent in 1963. (And then the educationists scold the cities for not putting more money into schools.)

(Copyright 1965
King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

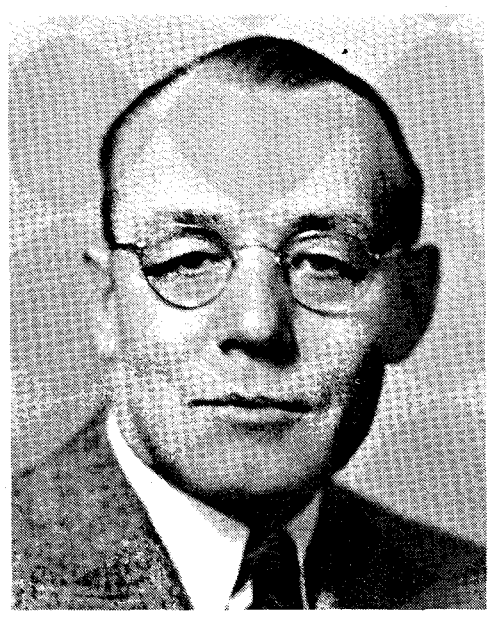
□ □ □

THREE DECADES AGO people worked 12 hours a day and it was called economic slavery. Today some work 14 hours a day and it is termed moonlighting—From the *Wall Street Journal*

WRITERS

N. Y. publisher wants books on all subjects, fiction, nonfiction. No fee for professional opinion. FREE: Brochures that show how your book can be published, publicized, sold; tips and article reprints on writing, publishing, contracts. Write Dept. 70C
EXPOSITION 386 Park Ave. So., N.Y. 16

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa) left, feels that bank charters may have been issued by Comptroller of the Currency James J. Saxon as political patronage.

Bank Charters as Patronage? Rep. H.R. Gross Wants Probe

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

An Iowa Republican, Rep. H.R. Gross, has demanded a full-scale congressional probe of bank charters issued during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

The evidence is strong, he says, that Comptroller of the Currency James J. Saxon has dispensed charters as political patronage. He cites the following cases:

• Frank Smathers Jr., brother of Florida's Democratic Sen. George Smathers, is president of the United National Bank of Miami, which Saxon chartered on Jan. 7, 1964. At the time, Saxon had ordered a freeze on new bank charters, but Smathers' brother was rewarded nonetheless.

• Rep. Teno Roncalio, Democrat of Wyoming, is a stockholder or director of three recently chartered banks. Roncalio, a freshman elected last November, is a former Democratic state chairman. He was earning $20,000 a year as an Administration appointee—chairman of the U.S.-Canadian Joint International Commission—when Saxon approved two of the charters.

• Stephen L.R. McNichols, former Democratic governor of Colorado, is a stockholder, director and officer of two banks recently chartered by Saxon.

• Rep. David S. King, Utah Democrat, obtained charters for three banks while out of Congress during 1963 and 1964. The usual attorney's fee for obtaining a bank charter ranges between $3,000 and $5,000.

• Three former associates or aides of Vice President Humphrey are connected with banks chartered by Saxon. Max Kampelman, a former Humphrey staffer, was among the organizers of the D.C. National Bank. Dwayne Andreas, another one-time aide, is a director of the National City Bank of Minneapolis, and William G. Simms, a former administrative assistant, is president of the New Guardian National Bank in Springfield, Va.

• Former Rep. Albert Rains (D.) is an organizer and director of the new City National Bank of Gadsden, Ala. The second ranking member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, Rains was still in Congress when Saxon granted the charter last fall.

Rep. Gross is unlikely to get the inquiry he seeks. Rep. Wright Patman, chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, has announced that he does not favor an investigation into the possibility that political influence was a factor in the chartering of national banks.

"What some of my colleagues have done disturbs me," Patman explained, "but I am not going to sit in judgment. I am not going to get involved in attacking my colleagues."

Note: There is evidence, Rep. Gross says, that a former secretary of the Navy, Fred Korth, may have pulled political strings in a successful attempt to deny a bank charter to applicants in Winters, Tex. A brief chronology of the case follows:

1. An application was filed for a national bank charter at Winters, Tex. It was opposed by several bankers, including Fred Holland, president of the Merchants and Planters National Bank of Sherman, Tex., and John Q. McAdams, president of the Winters State Bank of Winters.

2. Holland wrote to Korth on Nov. 7, 1962, asking the Navy secretary for assistance in blocking the national charter for Winters, and promising to "make it worth-while" to the Continental National Bank of Fort Worth (in which Korth held $160,000 worth of stock).

3. On Nov. 9, 1962, Korth wrote to Holland assuring him that he would "do everything I can" in blocking the Winters application.

4. Holland replied on Jan. 22, 1963: "We will greatly appreciate your helping us with this matter and shall certainly look forward to the opportunity of returning the favor."

5. On April 23, 1963, Korth learned from an officer of his Continental National Bank that "John Q. McAdams has increased his account with us substantially." The officer, senior executive vice president G.E. Holmstrom, continued, "I am convinced now that if the application for the national charter could be declined, we would probably get all his business. Thought you might be interested in having this information."

6. On June 21, Comptroller of the Currency Saxon rejected the application for the new national bank at Winters. A few days later, on June 29, McAdams wrote to Korth:

"Want to thank you as sincerely as I know for the assistance you gave in defeating an application for a national bank in our town . . . If the opportunity is ever presented for me to show my appreciation for this favor it shall be my intention to try with determination."

* * *

Republican National Chairman Dean Burch recently lashed out at the Ripon Society, an organization of party "moderates" that has received national publicity by its frontal attacks upon GOP conservatives.

Burch charged society spokesmen with a "slanderous defamation" of the party leadership. He wondered out loud how an "organization with 80 members" can win front-page headlines from coast to coast.

Investigation reveals the Ripon Society is a paper tiger. It lacks an office, even a telephone. Its president, John Saloma, an assistant professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, concedes that membership is less than one hundred.

Saloma and Co. have demanded a purge of conservative Republicans from positions of party leadership. Without such a purge, they warn, the GOP is doomed forever.

The dire predictions of Ripon Society spokesmen should be placed in some perspective. Prior to the Republican National Convention, for instance, Saloma circulated among party "moderates" a detailed analysis of GOP prospects.

The nomination of Goldwater, he warned, would "bring on the wholesale slaughter of the Republican party." He also predicted:

• Goldwater would not carry a single Southern state. (He carried five, sweeping into office seven new congressmen.)

• Goldwater's nomination would guarantee the defeat of Republican governors in Michigan, Rhode Island, South Dakota and Montana. (All won.)

• Goldwater would mean the defeat of GOP senators in Pennsylvania and Hawaii. (They, too, won.)

Even after the election, the Ripon Society has had difficulty in getting the facts straight. In a report published three weeks after the voting, the society stated that Goldwater's candidacy had resulted in the defeat of an un-named "moderate" Republican congressman from West Virginia. Actually, the state's only Republican congressman, Arch Moore, was re-elected, increasing his winning margin over 1962.

(Copyright 1965
King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

Liberal Drive Thwarted

House Votes HCUA Funds

Identified Communist Frank Wilkinson's relentless campaign to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities will have to wait another year.

The guiding spirit of the National Committee to Abolish HCUA, Wilkinson has been holed up in the Nation's Capital for several months feverishly trying to convince lawmakers of HCUA's evils. On February 25 House members told Wilkinson what they thought of his campaign: They voted the Committee on Un-American Activities its biggest appropriation ever, $370,000.

The House divided 358 to 29, but the key vote reflecting sentiment about the committee came on a Wilkinson-supported proposal to recommit the appropriations bill to the Committee on House Administration with instructions that open hearings be held to justify HCUA funds.

Rep. Don Edwards (D.-Calif.), who introduced the proposal, and 16 other liberal Democrats had sent a written plea to each House member on February 19 requesting support for this anti-HCUA maneuver. Wilkinson, obviously in close touch with supporters of the Edwards proposal, leaked its contents to the public on February 18 in a mailing which urged every citizen to "wire your congressman immediately" to support it.

This seemingly innocent and fair-minded proposal, say committee supporters, was nothing less than an effort to sabotage HCUA's work.

HCUA Chairman Edwin Willis (D.-La.) declared adoption of the measure would put the committee "out of business for quite some time." He explained that such hearings would inevitably be long, drawn-out affairs since numerous groups and individuals would demand to testify. Work would also be impeded because staff members would be deprived of salaries while the hearings were going on.

"There are 20 committees in the House," said Willis. "All of the committee money resolutions are heard in executive session. Why distinguish between the Committee on Un-American Activities and all others?" Proponents of the motion to recommit, said Willis, also have placed resolutions to abolish HCUA before the House Rules Committee. If they want a public hearing before Rules, they can request it.

Furthermore, said Willis, proponents of the Edwards proposal had plenty of time to appear before the House Administration Committee in closed session, but only two chose to do so.

The Edwards measure, the last-gasp try of the anti-HCUA legislators, failed 58-to-332. That curious figure, Rep. John Lindsay of New York, was the only "Republican" to join 57 liberal Democrats in support of the Edwards proposal. Their names are listed below.

• Note: Rep. Willis pointed out that the December 1964 issue of *Political Affairs*, chief directive organ of the Communist party, published a draft resolution singling out five key struggles for the party. "Included in one of them," said Willis, "is that now familiar Communist theme, 'the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Commiteee.'"

Vote on HCUA Resolutions

The following congressmen, all Democrats with the exception of Lindsay, voted for the Edwards resolution to force crippling hearings on the appropriations for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Those with asterisks following their names are the 29 congressmen who then voted against HCUA's appropriation.

Adams
Ashley*
Barrett
Bingham*
Blatnik
Brown, Calif.*
Burton, Calif.*
Cameron
Clevenger
Conyers*
Craley*
Culver
Diggs*
Dingell*
Dow*
Duncan, Oreg.*
Dyal
Edwards, Calif.*
Farbstein*
Ford, William D.
Fraser*
Gilbert*
Gonzalez
Green, Pa.
Hawkins*
Hechler
Helstoski*
Hicks
Kastenmeier*
King, Utah
Leggett*
Lindsay
Mackie*
Matsunaga
Meeds
Mink
Moorhead
Nedzi*
O'Hara, Ill.*
O'Hara, Mich.
Ottinger*
Resnick*
Reuss
Roncalio
Roosevelt*
Rosenthal*
Roybal*
Ryan*
Scheuer*
Schmidhauser
Sickles
Tenzer
Thompson, N.J.
Todd
Tunney
Vivian*
Walker, N. Mex.
Wolff

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Militant leftists are desperately seeking to make a martyr out of the late Malcolm X. Malcolm, whose daughter is named after the late pro-Communist Congolese premier Patrice Lumumba, has been eulogized by the Red-lining Ghananian *Times* and the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Movement. The New York *World Telegram* reports that the FBI and the CIA have information that Reds helped finance Malcolm's tours of Africa, Europe and the Middle East. His Afro-American Unity organization was infiltrated by Red Chinese sympathizers, many of whom are suspected of peddling dope to Harlem addicts.

MALCOLM X

• *The Chicago* Tribune *reports that Bobby Kennedy is "seeking to buy control of a big metropolitan newspaper to advance his political ambitions."*

• None other than Drew Pearson's writing partner, Jack Anderson, revealed this choice piece of news last week: The Democratic National Committee channelled $60,000 into the now defunct National Committee for Civic Responsibility via an arrangement with the tax-deductible Public Affairs Institute, a group headed by ADAer Dewey Anderson. Anderson reported that the Democrats also arranged for the New York public relations firm of Ruder and Finn to handle the council's publicity and fund-raising. Born just prior to the election and headed by New Deal Republican Arthur Larson, the NCCR claimed to be a non-partisan group engaged in exposing right-wingers.

PEARSON

• *The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has recommended a $5.7-billion reduction in the $112.3 billion in new spending authority LBJ seeks from Congress for fiscal 1966. The chamber came out for eliminating: the $1.2-billion federal program for elementary and secondary education; the $675-million urban renewal program; the $400-million request for an extension of the area redevelopment program; $705 million of the $1.46 billion requested for the anti-poverty program and a half-billion in defense spending. Henry C. Coleman, chairman of the chamber's Government Operations and Expenditures Committee, said the new budget asked for an increase of almost 46,000 non-defense federal employes for the fiscal year 1966.*

• Insiders say former Vice President Richard Nixon has formulated a complete program for a big political comeback, hoping to wind up as the Republican nominee in 1968. Reports say his plan involves whirlwind campaigning for Republicans in 1966 and an attempt to change his "sore loser" image through Dale Carnegie type speeches. By 1968, it is said, Nixon hopes to enter all presidential primaries, gathering enough delegates to give him a first ballot victory at the GOP convention.

NIXON

• *States with right-to-work laws lead all other states in economic growth, according to the latest available statistics from the Departments of Labor and Commerce. Manufacturing jobs in right-to-work states have increased 23.2 per cent over the past decade (compared with 9.9 per cent for non-right-to-work states). During the same period, per capita personal income increased by 43 per cent in right-to-work states (versus 34.7 per cent for non-right-to-work states).*

This Week in Washington

The Baker Probe

The long, involved Bobby Baker probe appeared to be grinding to a halt last week with the 6-to-3 Democratic majority on the Senate Rules Committee still energetically covering up corners of possible scandal that could reach into 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. The latest Democratic smokescreen was a weird, 30-page report, drawn up by the Department of Justice and released by the Rules Committee. The newspapers mistakenly referred to it as an FBI investigation of charges made under oath last December by the key witness in the Baker affair, insurance man Don B. Reynolds. Actually, it was a Department of Justice resume of limited FBI findings.

On the basis of the report findings, Chairman Everett Jordan of the Rules Committee made the sweeping claim that it "makes it obvious beyond a doubt that the testimony of Don B. Reynolds before this committee in executive session on Dec. 1, 1964, is unworthy of unbelief."

Chairman Jordan, who had been accused by Reynolds of interceding on behalf of Baker in connection with the Howard Johnson Co., was hardly an objective commentator.

Impartial observers say the report is palpably incomplete, that all it reflects is that the FBI asked certain individuals accused by Reynolds if they were guilty of wrongdoing as charged—and that they all said they were innocent. No one questioned was under oath.

A typical remark contained in the report: "Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara was specifically asked if anyone at the White House, including the late President John F. Kennedy, or anyone on Capitol Hill, had at any time, attempted to influence the awarding of the TFX contract to General Dynamics. The secretary replied, "Definitely and categorically, no." This, point out trained investigators, is hardly a "probing" report.

Sen. Carl T. Curtis, Republican member of the Rules Committee, bluntly repudiated the document last week:" . . . [T]he report submitted by the Attorney General . . . is not an FBI report and was not issued by the director or anyone authorized by him . . . There is no statement in the attorney general's report even alleging that the report contains resumes of all the interviews conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation . . .

"This report was obtained and released for the purpose of prejudicing the public mind against the testimony of witnesses who testify against the politically powerful . . ."

This new attempt to discredit Reynolds is hardly surprising in view of the dramatic vindication only two weeks ago of his charges against ex-LBJ aide Walter Jenkins.

Reynolds, Baker's partner in a private insurance business in Maryland, testified a year ago that he had written a $100,000 life insurance policy on Sen. Johnson's life in 1959, and that, in 1961, Walter Jenkins, Johnson's administrative assistant, had pressured him to buy advertising time from Johnson's television station in Austin in return for this policy.

In a sworn affidavit, Jenkins had responded at that time that he had "no knowledge . . . of any arrangement by which Reynolds purchased advertising time on the TV station."

In written replies to the committee on February 24, however, Jenkins reversed his story to a considerable degree. Jenkins recalls now that Huff Baines, Sen. Johnson's uncle, had been writing his nephew's insurance and was advertising on the Austin station to keep the business.

"I am confident," Jenkins continued, "I communicated this information to Mr. Reynolds . . . At any rate, I received word soon from either Mr. Reynolds or Mr. Baker . . . that Mr. Reynolds wished very much to sell the policies and would like to purchase advertising time in the event he sold them . . ."

Sen. Johnson, Jenkins continued, then switched to Reynolds as his agent because "the Reynolds firm had lower rates . . . was more convenient . . . and was willing to buy advertising."

As liberal columnist Murray Kempton was to note: "And so, after a year's paltering, the Rules Committee of the United States Senate has been embarrassed to discover that, when he was majority leader of the United States Senate, Lyndon Johnson really did use his television station to extract a kickback from his insurance agent."

Hence the frantic liberal campaign to discredit key witness Reynolds.

Feighan on Immigration

Spokesmen for the Administration-sponsored immigration bill (the Celler-Hart proposal) are expected to have a rough time testifying before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration which began hearings in the middle of last week. The reason? The subcommittee's soft-spoken, scholarly chairman, Michael Feighan (D.-Ohio).

Ardent Administration advocates of liberal immigration revision discovered last year they couldn't fool Feighan as he calmly finessed Administration pressures to pass a new immigration law.

Experts say that Feighan won't be cowed by the Administration this year either. The Cleveland congressman has already spotted a host of flaws in the present bill and is expected to put them on parade as the hearings develop.

For instance, Feighan disputes the Administration claim that its bill would boost quota immigrants only 7,000 a year. Actually, says Feighan, the Administration measure means an annual increase of 70,000 quota immigrants. Other provisions of the bill, says Feighan, would result in non-quota immigration increases.

The Ohio lawmaker notes that "Mr. Abba Schwartz, administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State, in the course of testimony taken on Aug. 3, 1964, admitted the overall admissions would increase to a minimum of 400,000."

Feighan and others point to a dozen objectionable features in the Administration's measure. The bill removes Congress from any say on immigration matters, eliminates the requirement that skilled "first preference" immigrants must actually find an employer before entering the United States, affords a preference for relatively unskilled workers and would vastly increase the influx into this country of citizens from behind the Iron Curtain.

Feighan promises to tangle with Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach over controversial section 13. Under this brand-new gimmick, Katzenbach would have free rein to bring into this country those who describe themselves as "refugee-escapees." No screening or security process for such refugees is established by the bill. Old-time security experts say this provision not only hands the attorney general "Czar-like" powers, but provides an easy way for Communists to infiltrate the United States.

Rep. Feighan is expected to get across some of his own ideas in any immigration bill which may come before Congress.

He feels the national origins quota system has not been the restriction on a massive influx of immigrants that some have considered it. In a detailed analysis before the conservative American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Feighan demonstrated that of the 35 quota countries in Europe, 22 of them have exceeded their quotas several times over during the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

past decade, largely as a result of loopholes and new legislation.

Feighan also revealed that during a 10-year period 1,774,367 non-quota immigrant visas were issued as against 948,334 quota visas.

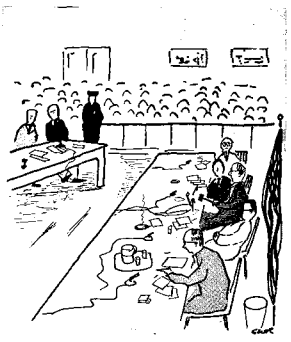
His aim: to cut down the total number of immigrants by a new formula which would actually put an airtight ceiling on the maximum visas authorized. The formula governing issuances of visas would be based on uniting families of American citizens, recognizing skills "for which there is a demonstrated need" and providing a haven for victims of religious and political persecution.

Though Feighan's formula would do away with the national origins quota system, immigration experts say it would hold down the number of immigrants and still ensure that the vast majority of immigrants entering this country would come from Western Europe.

• Gerhard Lenski Jr., professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina, wrote to the Washington *Post* last week that an immigration policy which "permitted the apparently modest number of 350,000 persons per year would add about 80 million persons to the American population in a century if the immigrants and their children had birth and death rates comparable to those now prevailing in the United States."

LBJ's Housing Plans

President Johnson's sweeping message on housing and urban renewal has left conservatives gasping at its Socialistic implications.



House GOP Leader Gerald Ford (Mich.) bluntly said it was proof positive the Administration desires "federal centralization of power." The government, Ford added, has "no business telling cities how to think and plan, as the President would have the new Department of Housing and Urban Development do under his recommendations."

The LBJ message not only calls for the creation of this new Cabinet post. It advocates a massive federal land-purchasing program for the purpose of "obtaining desirable land for public buildings and other facilities." It would extend rent subsidies for the first time on a permanent basis to families in the "lower and moderate" income brackets. (Under LBJ's formula, rent subsidies could go to families earning over $10,000 a year.)

The LBJ message rings with his desire to put every city under the thumb of the federal government. At one point, he even urges the establishment of an Institute of Urban Development which would actually train local officials in developing "an entire metropolitan area" financed largely by Washington, D.C.

At another juncture, he calls for the creation of a Temporary National Commission to develop uniform building codes, zoning regulations and "more realistic standards for suburban development"—which local authorities and private enterprise will be forced to follow.

Another amazing aspect of LBJ's Socialistic housing scheme is an item indicating the federal government now plans to go in for "scatter-site" public housing. Under this concept (see *Human Events*, Nov. 7, 1964), the federal government plans to condemn modest, but decent homes in good neighborhoods, refurbish them and then move in "poverty stricken" tenants from slums, paying part of their rent. In short, the idea is to take from the haves and give to the have-nots.

Poland Helps Hanoi

The Administration campaign to increase trade with the Reds continues. Last week 20 Poles, the first group of high-ranking Iron Curtain business management officials to visit the United States, began a month-long series of meetings with their American counterparts.

Representing computer and mining industries, the Reds will visit the Sloan School of Management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Xerox and Eastman Kodak Company officials in Rochester, and Ford Motor, Detroit-Edison Power and Great Lakes Steel Company executives in Detroit.

The visit will wind up in Washington with officials of the AFL-CIO, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and a reception at the White House by Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

While the United States goes about building up Poland economically, however, Poland goes about helping Americans to die in Viet Nam.

On February 20 Warsaw announced a trade agreement by which Poland would supply the North Vietnamese with goods of a military value. Sen. Thomas H. Dodd (D.-Conn.) pointed out in a recent Senate speech that the Polish government has been in the forefront of those encouraging North Vietnamese aggression.

By 1961, said Dodd, reports of 1,200 offensive incidents of Communist agents, ranging from one-man assassination to large-scale military actions, had been presented to the three-man International Control Commission set up in 1954 to ensure the territorial integrity of Laos, Cambodia and the two Viet Nams.

The commission, said Dodd, "took no action because the Polish Communist member consistently refused to investigate reports of North Vietnamese intervention in South Viet Nam. In this way, the entire massive body of evidence of Hanoi's intervention in South Viet Nam was muted and rendered ineffective." Just last week, the Polish member of the ICC accused the United States of aggression against the North Vietnamese.

• Another item on Red trade. AFL-CIO president George Meany, who has self-righteously denounced American businessmen trading with Russia, has yet to offer any criticism of President Johnson or his Administration for pushing East-West trade. Meany, say those who know him, seems to have been bought off by LBJ's "Great Society."

The Education Bill

The Administration's new $1.3-billion "rich man's" education bill whizzed through the House Education and Labor Committee last week with the help of two renegade Republicans, Reps. Ogden Reid (N.Y.) and Alphonzo Bell (Calif.). The original price tag had been $1.2 billion, but Democrats swelled the cost with amendments.

In spite of the Reid and Bell defections (both are members of John Lindsay's liberal Wednesday group), the mainstream of GOPers remains dead set against this Administration boondoggle, promising to offer amendments when the bill reaches the floor for a vote.

The chief GOP objection to the education measure is that, as the hearings revealed, it is a vote-buying, pork-barrel operation which aids the rich, not impoverished school districts.

Rep. William H. Ayres (R.-Ohio), ranking GOP member of the Education and Labor Committee, exposed the fact that under LBJ's proposal the 10 wealthiest counties in the country would receive twice as much federal money as the 10 poorest.

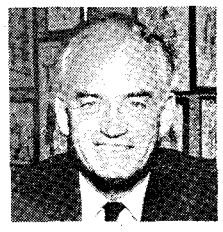
Posh Westchester County in New York, for example, would get over $2 million the first year. Montgomery County, Maryland, considered the wealthiest county in America, would be furnished a half-million dollars The median family income in Montgomery is in excess of $9,000 with the area already receiving over $4 million in impacted area aid.

Ayres also pointed out that LBJ had adroitly drawn the bill so that 400 of 434 congressional districts would participate in dividing federal largesse.

Another major GOP objection: Under Title III, the U.S. commissioner of education can set up and finance a school system in a locality without any permission from the state government. Even under the anti-poverty bill, a governor was at least allowed to veto projects scheduled for his state.

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) has predicted that Barry Goldwater "will be back in the Senate no later than 1968." In a Boston speech, Fannin —a close personal friend of Goldwater—said that Sen. Carl Hayden (D.-Ariz.) will resign before the next national election and that Goldwater will win a resounding victory in a race for the seat.



GOLDWATER

• *A "Ripon Society" of Young Republicans who call themselves the "Bull Moosers" is gaining momentum in several states. Hatched in Cambridge, also the headquarters of Ripon, and deriving its name from Teddy Roosevelt's group, the Bull Moose party says its chief purpose is to wrest the GOP from conservative hands. Ralph Kopperman, national coordinator of the group's national committee, says five clubs have now been formed, four at universities—MIT, Boston U., Rice and Queens College—and one in Houston. Kopperman says the Bull Moose organizers will welcome Republicans "to the left of Sen. Jacob Javits of New York." He also says "there is room for independents and even for Democrats who agree with out basic purpose."*

• By an 11-to-5 vote, the Tompkins County N.Y. (Ithaca), Board of Supervisors approved a resolution rejecting Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's plan to provide the country with Appalachian poverty funds. Ithaca Mayor Humma Jones said that he did not see how his city could possibly qualfiy for Appalachian aid. Its per capita family income, he said, was one of the highest in the nation. The resolution rejecting Bobby Kennedy's "free federal money" was offered by Republican Edward P. Abbott. Noting that Tompkins County is a major vacation spot, he said, "Are we to advertise to tourists: 'Visit the poverty-stricken Finger Lakes and see America at its worst?"

KENNEDY

• *Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) quotes Winston Churchill in arguing that surrender in South Viet Nam will be disastrous: "The belief that security can be obtained by throwing a small state to the wolves is a fatal delusion."*

• Respected New York attorney Thomas A. Bolan testified last week that when Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N. Y.) was attorney general he tried to instigate a magazine exposé of Teamster President James Hoffa at a time when Hoffa was under indictment. Sen. Edward V. Long (D.-Mo.), chairman of the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure which heard Bolan, said "It is obvious the Department of Justice was attempting to try cases in the press." Bolan produced information that Henry Suydam, then head of *Life* magazine's Washington bureau, had written a memo in which he told of being called to Bobby Kennedy's office in March 1961 and urged to publish an anti-Hoffa article. Sen. Kennedy does not deny the memo, but says he did not furnish material for the article.

LONG

NOW AVAILABLE!
'Human Events' Guide to Congress'
See page 16

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Welfare in Defense Dept.

Administration Proposes 'Instant Veterans'

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

The quiet-spoken woman on the telephone did not raise her voice, but plainly she was indignant about a proposed federal program under which 8,000 young men could become "instant veterans."

The quoted phrase was not her invention, nor is it ours. It was used by startled members of a Senate Appropriations subcommittee to describe the product of a plan to train 8,000 young men who are incapable of meeting the minimum physical and mental requirements of the armed services.

If the young men trained for only one day, they would become eligible for veterans' benefits which now are available to servicemen who have completed long terms in uniform. If they served 90 days, they would become eligible for unemployment benefits. Army Secretary Stephen Ailes, who presented the plan for the Administration, admitted that a high percentage of such eligible "dropouts" might be expected.

The Omaha woman's indignation stemmed from the fact that her own husband was in his 23rd year of military service. Benefits which he had earned by long, hard work, including participation in two wars, were to be handed out as part of an educational social experiment to boys who couldn't meet the qualifications for the military draft.

Would this lift the morale of career military men, make them proud of their profession? It would not, said the military wife. Rather, it would constitute another reminder that in peacetime the experience, skill and dedication of career military men are qualities not overly esteemed in some quarters.

We not only agree with the military wife, but we raise a futher point about the "instant veterans" program, which is: It would duplicate President Johnson's Job Corps program for reducing unemployment and poverty, and it would use military appropriations rather than welfare funds.

The implications of such a move are obvious. If the Administration can get away with spending $31 million of the huge defense budget on such an experiment, it will have established a new beachhead for welfare spending.

Welfare already is the third largest item in the President's budget, well over $8 billion. It is exceeded only by the $11.5 billion interest on the public debt and the $50 billion for defense.

If welfare experimenters can get a bite out of that $50 billion under the guise of defense spending, this nation will be well on its way to intermixing defense and welfare spending. What a bonanza that would be for the welfarists.

The only bright spot in this picture is that even liberal members of the Senate subcommittee seemed to be shocked by Mr. Ailes' proposal, and apparently no senator spoke for it.

We hope that they reflected the true feeling of Congress, and that the "instant veterans" proposal will meet an instant demise.

□ □ □

'ONLY' $100 BILLION!—It's hard to know what would have amazed our ancestors more about a budget of only $100 billion, the word "billion" or the word "only."—From the San Diego *Union*

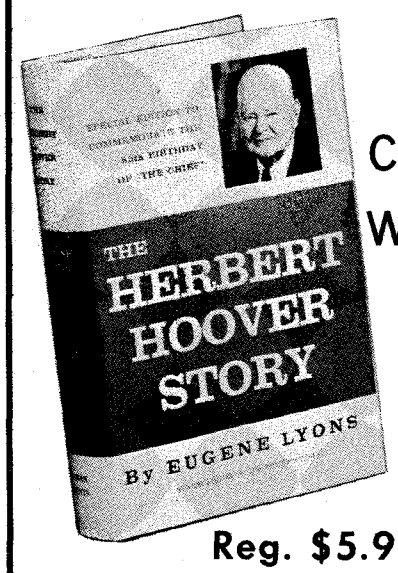
□ □ □

STILL PINCHED by a labor shortage, Cuba plans to incorporate thousands of women into its agricultural work force to spur production and farm economy. There's been much the same pattern in Russia and Red China. Say what you please about communism—it gets the girls out into the fresh air.

—From the Minneapolis *Tribune*

MARCH IS 5-WEEKS FOR $1 MONTH

Help HUMAN EVENTS Reach a Half-Million Readers . . .



Reg. $5.90

. . . and receive FREE this conservative classic without which no library is complete.

THE HERBERT HOOVER STORY By Eugene Lyons

FEW AMERICAN LEADERS have been as cruelly and unjustly maligned, Eugene Lyons points out, as our thirty-first President. He was made the scapegoat for a world depression, the whipping boy of a nation. Fortunately time and events have tended to reverse the verdict of partisan malice and restore him to popular esteem. Within these pages Mr. Lyons cuts through the anti-Hoover myths to uncover the American and the exciting human story underneath.

These pages are crammed with facts and ancedotes, many of them here published for the first time, which help reveal "the warm, whimsical, and tender Hoover known to his intimates, the very human and deeply humane Quaker behind the solemn facade." They help explain why "Hoover has a multitude of enemies but no ex-friends."

This is a book that had to be written. It amounts to an act of historical justice. Thousands of Hoover's countrymen who have been eager to know and understand him better will be gratified.

THE AUTHOR: EUGENE LYONS, at present a Senior Editor of **The Reader's Digest**, was an eminent foreign correspondent. He is the author of **Assignment in Utopia, The Red Decade, The Life and Death of Sacco and Vanzetti, Our Secret Allies** and other books.

- **List the names of those for whom you will purchase $1.00, 5-week trial subscriptions**
- **If your list includes at least sixteen names, we will send you Eugene Lyons' conservative classic "The Herbert Hoover Story."**

EVERYBODY'S A POTENTIAL CONSERVATIVE WORKER ONCE GIVEN THE FACTS

Students, teachers, principals, librarians, relatives, business associates, editors, radio announcers, barbers, delivery men, neighbors, salesmen, ministers, and civic leaders.

ACT NOW !

HUMAN EVENTS
410 First St., SE,
Washington 3, D. C.

YOUR

NAME (Print).....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....
STATE.....ZONE.....

My check for $.....is enclosed. Please send 5-week gift subscriptions to those listed.

☐ My list contains at least 16 names. Send me the Hoover book.

NAME (Print).....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

NAME (Print).....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

NAME (Print).....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

NAME (Print).....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

NAME (Print).....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

NAME (Print).....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

NAME (Print).....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

NAME (Print).....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

NAME (Print).....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

NAME (Print).....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

NAME (Print).....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
☐ Send Gift Card

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Viet Nam and the New Isolationism

By SEN. THOMAS J. DODD (D.-Conn.)

There has been developing in this country in recent years a brand of thinking about foreign affairs which, I believe, can aptly be described as "the new isolationism." This internal phenomenon is, in my opinion, potentially more disastrous in terms of its consequences than the major external problems that confront us. . . .

Its political base seems to be to the left of center, although it forms as yet a distinct minority there.

Its scareword is "escalation"; its cure-all is "neutralization."

Its prophets include some of my colleagues in the Congress, influential spokesmen in the press, and leading figures in the academic world. Some are new volunteers in this cause of retrenchment; they regard themselves as pragmatists. Others are old hands at Pollyannaism, those unshakeable romantics who were disillusioned by Moscow at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact, disillusioned by Mao when they discovered that he was not really an "agrarian reformer," disillusioned by Castro when they learned that he was not a cross between Thomas Jefferson and Robin Hood—and who, having again dusted themselves off, now look for new vistas of adventure.

. . . . I have always admired their durability. The manner in which they have survived, unchastened, a whole series of intellectual Dunkirks is, if nothing else, a tribute to man's invincible confidence in himself; and their adeptness in avoiding discreditation, in the face of repeated catastrophes and evacuations, must be acknowledged as one of the marvels of modern history—a triumph of self-rectitude over reason.

U.S. Not Overextended

The basic premise of the new isolationism is that the United States is "over-extended" in its attempt to resist Communist aggression around the world, "over-committed" to the defense of distant outposts, and "over-involved" in the murky and unintelligible affairs of remote areas. . . .

Far from over-extending ourselves in the cold war, we are actually in a period of declining defense budgets, of steadily lowered draft calls, of sharply reduced foreign aid, of one tax cut after another. . . .

We are not even straining ourselves! We are actually pursuing today a policy not only of *both* guns and butter, but of *less* guns and *more* butter. . . .

But we must face the world as it is. And the basic fact of our world is that Western civilization, itself terribly rent and divided, both politically and philosophically, has been forced into a twilight war of survival by a relentless and remorseless enemy. . . .

The Vietnamese war, in the Communist lexicon, is described as a "war of national liberation"; and its strategy is based on the concept of what the Communists call "the long war." . . .

China affords the classic example of the long war. It took 20 years for Mao Tse-tung to prevail. . . .

This article is excerpted from a major address by Sen. Dodd on the Senate floor, February 23.

There is no more cruel test of courage and staying power than "the long war" as it is waged by the Communists. Five years, 10 years, 20 years, mean nothing to them. And if they detect any sign that those opposed to them are flagging, that their patience is growing thin or that their will to resist has weakened, the Communists can be relied upon to redouble their efforts, in the belief that victory is within their grasp. . . .

Freedom at Stake

I have been amazed by a number of letters I have received asking the question, "Why are we in Viet Nam?" or "What is our policy in Viet Nam?" I have been even more amazed to have the same questions put to me by sophisticated members of the press. . . .

We are in Viet Nam because it is in our national interest to assist every nation, large and small, which is seeking to defend itself against Communist subversion, infiltration and aggression. There is nothing new about this policy; it is a policy, in fact, to which every administration has adhered since the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine.

We are in Viet Nam because our assistance was invited by the legitimate government of that country.

We are in Viet Nam because, as Sen. Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.) pointed out in his 1963 report, Chinese Communist hostility to the United States threatens "the whole structure of our own security in the Pacific."

We are in Viet Nam not merely to help the 14 million South Vietnamese defend themselves against communism, but because what is at stake is the independence and freedom of 240 million people in Southeast Asia and the future of freedom throughout the western Pacific. . . .

The proposal that we negotiate now overlooks the fact that there does exist a negotiated agreement on Viet Nam, approved by the participants of the Geneva Conference of 1954. The final declaration of this agreement read:

"Each member . . . undertakes to respect the sovereignty, the independence, the unity and the territorial integrity of the above-mentioned states and to refrain from any interference in their internal affairs." . . .

A report issued by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security establishes that the Soviet Union has since its inception violated more than 1,000 treaties and agreements. The Communists have repeatedly violated the terms of the Korean armistice, of the Geneva agreement on Viet Nam, and of the Laotian armistice.

[Sen. Church] has held up the Laotian armistice as an example of a rational agreement with the Communists that has served our interests. He could not possibly have picked a worse illustration for his argument.

I can think of no more dramatic proof than the Laotian armistice that agreements with the Communists are worthless, and that every time we try to escape from today's unpleasantness by entering into a new covenant with an implacable aggressor, we are always confronted on the morrow by unpleasantness compounded 10 times over.

The Laotian armistice has served Laos itself as poorly as it has served the cause of freedom in Viet Nam. The Communists have continued to nibble away at what is left of free Laos, in one aggressive act after another, so that by now they firmly control more than half the country, while their infiltrees and guerrillas are gnawing relentlessly at government authority in the rest of the country.

In mid-1964, I asked the Library of Congress to prepare for me a study of Communist violations of the Laotian armistice agreement. The study which they submitted to me listed 14 specific violations up until that time. There have been many more since then. . . .

I would also like to quote from a statement made on March 30, 1963, by Gen. Kong Le, the neutralist military commander who, as is common knowledge, had favored the conclusion of the Laotian armistice. Kong Le's statement is significant because it illustrates how Communists will deal tomorrow with non-Communist elements that they are prepared to "accept" into coalition governments today.

Referring to certain Communist stooges, Gen. Kong Le said:

"Despite their continual defeats, however, these people learned their lessons from their Communist bosses. . . . When the prime minister went abroad, they moved rapidly to destroy the neutralist forces. They used tricks to provoke the soldiers and people to overthrow Col. Ketsana. When these did not succeed, on February 12 they used an assassin to murder Ketsana. They also savagely killed or arrested all neutralist party members, and their bloody hands caused the death of many people."

Roads in Laos

Finally, I do not think the Laotian armistice has served the interests of the other peoples of Southeast Asia. I have in my possession a map of northern Laos showing areas where the Chinese Communists have been building roads that would give China direct access to the borders of Burma and Thailand. The construction of these roads bodes ill for the future peace of Southeast Asia. That they are intended for future military use is taken for granted by everyone in the area.

So much for the example of the Laotian armistice. . . .

The demand that we negotiate now over Viet Nam is akin to asking Churchill to negotiate with the Germans at the time of Dunkirk, or asking Truman to negotiate with the Communists when we stood with our backs to the sea in the Pusan perimeter. In either case, the free world could have negotiated nothing but its total capitulation. . . .

In my opinion, the consequences of an American defeat in Viet Nam would be so catastrophic that we simply cannot permit ourselves to think of it. This is truly an "unthinkable thought."

For the Vietnamese people, the first consequence would be a bloodletting on a genocidal scale. . . .

In the Soviet Union and in Red China, tens of millions of "class enemies" were eliminated by the victorious Communists. While it is true that there are some slightly more moderate Communist regimes in certain countries, Vietnamese communism is characterized by the utter disregard for

Sen. Dodd says the cure-all of the new isolationism is "neutralization."

human life of Stalinism and Maoism. What will happen to the more than one million refugees from North Viet Nam? What will happen to the millions of peasants who resisted or bore arms against the Viet Cong? I shudder to think about it. And the massacre of innocents in Viet Nam will be repeated in every Southeast Asian country that falls to communism in its wake, in a gigantic bloodletting that will dwarf the agony and suffering of the war in Viet Nam.

The total number of victims of communism will probably never be known. Students who have followed the Chinese Communist press closely claim that it can be demonstrated that Chinese communism has cost the lives of at least 25 million and more probably 50 million people, while students of Soviet communism put the over-all figure for the Soviet Union at approximately the same level. . . .

To those who refuse to believe, I would like to read the eloquent words penned by Dr. Julius Margolin, a prominent Jewish leader in pre-war Lithuania, one of the scores of thousands of Lithuanians deported to Soviet slave labor camps after the Soviet occupation of his country. When he was released after seven years in the camps, Dr. Margolin wrote:

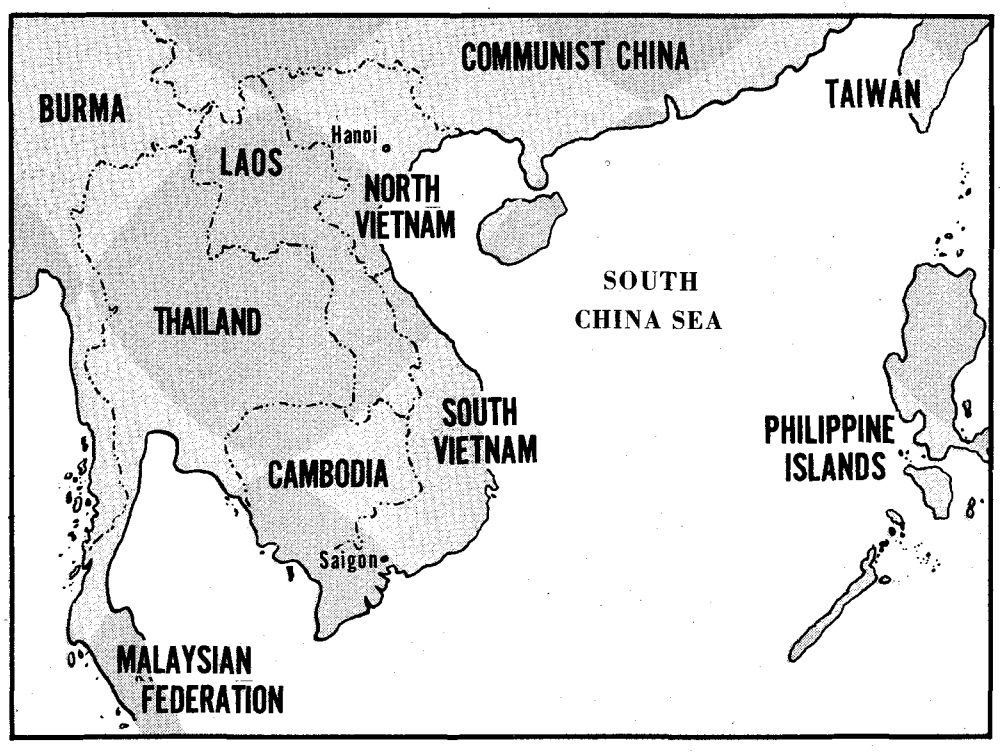
> "Until the fall of 1939, I had assumed a position of 'benevolent neutrality' toward the USSR. . . . The last seven years have made me a convinced and ardent foe of the Soviet system. . . .
>
> "Millions of men are perishing in the camps of the Soviet Union. . . . Since they came into being, the Soviet camps have swallowed more people, have executed more victims, than all the other camps—Hitler's included—together; and this lethal engine continues to operate full blast.
>
> "And those who in reply only shrug their shoulders and try to dismiss the issue with vague and meaningless generalities, I consider moral abetters and accomplices of banditry."

Let those who talk of getting out of Viet Nam for the ostensible purpose of saving human lives weigh the words of Dr. Julius Margolin—a man who, like themselves, refused to believe that communism could be so inhuman until he saw its punitive machinery at work with his own eyes.

And if the Administration should ever succumb to their pressure and negotiate the surrender of Viet Nam, and if the Vietnamese Communists then embark on the orgy of bloodletting which has al-

(Continued on following page)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ways accompanied the establishment of Communist power, let those who are pressuring for negotiations not be heard to say, "But we didn't intend it this way." Because there is today no excuse for ignorance about communism. . . .

If . . . we decide to abandon the whole of Southeast Asia to communism, as some of the proponents of withdrawal have frankly proposed, it would result in the early disintegration of all our alliances, and in the total eclipse of America as a great nation. Because no nation can remain great when its assurances are considered worthless even by its friends. . . .

If we abandon Southeast Asia, the Philippines may prove impossible to hold against a greatly stepped-up Huk insurgency. Japan, even if it remains non-Communist, would probably, by force of circumstances, be compelled to come to terms with Red China, adding the enormous strength of its economy to Communist strategic resources. . . .

Not a Civil War

To all those who agree that we must carefully weigh the consequences of withdrawal before we commit ourselves to withdrawal, I would refer the recent words of the well-known Filipino political commentator, Vincente Villamin. The abandonment of Viet Nam, wrote Mr. Villamin, "would be an indelible blemish on America's honor. It would reduce America in the estimation of mankind to a dismal third-rate power, despite her wealth, her culture and her nuclear arsenal. It would make every American ashamed of his government and would make every individual American distrusted everywhere on earth." . . .

The belief that the Vietnamese war is a civil war is one of the most widespread misconceptions about Viet Nam. . . .

The war in South Viet Nam is not a civil war. It was instigated in the first place by the North Vietnamese Communists, with the material and moral support of both Peking and Moscow. There is overwhelming proof that Hanoi has provided the leadership for the Viet Cong insurrection, that it has supplied them massively, and that it has served as the real command headquarters for the Viet Cong.

The present insurrection in South Viet Nam goes back to the third Communist Party Congress in Hanoi in September of 1960. At this Congress it was decided "to liberate SouthViet Nam from the ruling yoke of the U. S. imperialists and their henchmen in order to achieve national unity and complete independence. . . ." The Congress also called for the creation of a "broad national front" in South Viet Nam directed against the "U. S.-Diem clique." Several months later the formation of the "Front for the Liberation of the South" was announced.

. . . . There is an official report, according to which the U.S. Military Assistance Command in Viet Nam is in possession of reliable evidence indicating that probably as many as 34,000 Viet Cong infiltrators have entered South Viet Nam from the north between January 1959 and August 1964. . . .

It is this "hard core" that has come down from the north that has provided the leadership cadres in all major insurgent actions, including the series of sensational attacks on American installations.

It is time that we nail the civil war lie for what it is. It is time that we recognized it as a form of aggression as intolerable as open aggression across marked frontiers. . .

There has been a good deal of talk about the United States escalating the war in South Viet Nam. . . .

Now we are told that if we take any action against the territory of North Viet Nam, which has mounted and directed the entire attack on South Viet Nam, it will entail the risk of world war.

If the Communists are always to be permitted the privilege of escalating their attempts to take over new countries, while we shrink from retaliation for fear of further escalation, we might as well throw in the sponge now and tell the Communists the world is theirs for the taking.

I find it difficult to conceive of Red China sending in her armies in response to air strikes against carefully selected military targets. After all, if they did so, they would be risking retaliation against their highly vulnerable coastal cities, where most of Red China's industry is concentrated. They would be risking setting back their economy 10 or 20 years. . . .

Asians Want Freedom

It has been stated by [Sen. Church] and by other critics of our foreign policy in Viet Nam that it is pointless to talk about fighting for freedom in Asia because the Asian people historically do not know the meaning of freedom. It has even been implied that, because of their ignorance of freedom and their indifference to it, communism exercises a genuine attraction for the peoples of Asia.

I am sure that most Asians would consider this analysis condescending and offensive, and I myself would be disposed to agree with them. It is an analysis which, in my opinion, is false on almost every score. . . .

It is true that most Asian governments are autocratic; and it is probably true that the Vietnamese people do not understand or appreciate freedom in the sense of parliamentary democracy. But they certainly understand the meaning of "freedom" when the word is used to mean independence from foreign rule. They are, in fact, a people with a long and proud history and a strong sense of national identity. Every Vietnamese schoolboy knows that his people fought and triumphed over the hordes of Genghis Khan in defense of their freedom and he also knows that his country was free for five centuries before the French occupation. Finally, he knows and takes pride in the fact that his people drove out the French colonialists despite their army of 400,000 men. . . .

In the countryside, where the great mass of the people reside, the political controls that exist in the city are meaningless. The peasant is free to own his own land, to dispose of his produce, to worship according to his beliefs, to guide the upbringing of his children, and to elect his local village officials. To him, these freedoms that touch on his everyday life are the freedoms that really count, not the abstract and remote freedoms of constitutional and federal government. . . .

We have been told that the Vietnamese people are indifferent to communism . . . .

Anti-Red Vietnamese

The people of South Viet Nam are, in fact, one of the most anti-Communist peoples in the world. Among them are more than one million refugees who sacrificed everything they possessed to flee from North Viet Nam to South Viet Nam after the country was divided by the Geneva agreement of 1954; and it is estimated that there are another 300,000 internal refugees who have fled from Communist-controlled areas in the south. Among the present population of 14 million, in addition, there are several million peasants and workers and students who have at one time or another borne arms against the Communists, some of them in the Vietnamese army, the majority in village self-defense units.

The overwhelming majority of the people of South Viet Nam know what communism means because they have experienced it on their own backs. There are indeed very few South Vietnamese who do not have friends or relatives who have been the victims of Communist brutality and terror.

Let me tell you the story of one such act of Communist terror, because statistics by themselves tend to be meaningless.

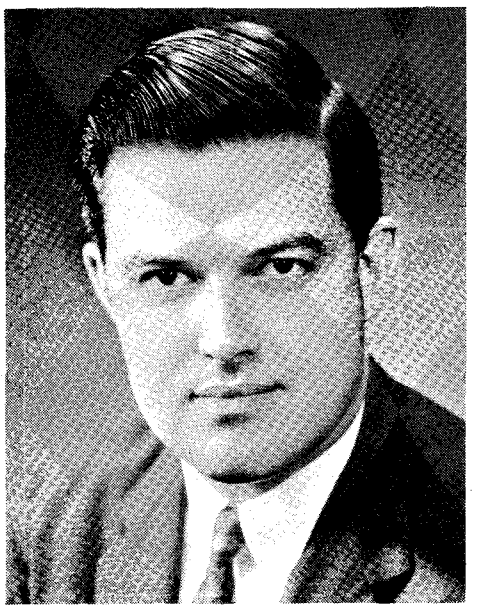
In the village of Phu Hoa, there was a teen-age girl by the name of Giau, the pride of her parents and a born leader of others. As a member of the Republican Youth Organization, she organized the village youth and gave talks. On the evening of Jan. 15, 1962, she was abducted from her village by Viet Cong soldiers. The next morning her mutilated and decapitated body—I have a photograph of it—was discovered in the roadway outside the village with a note on her breast captioned "Death Sentence for Giau," and signed by the "People's Front of Liberation."

For a long period of time, assassinations such as this were going on at the rate of some 500 a month, or 6,000 a year. The victims were most frequently active supporters of government, local administrators, village heads and schoolteachers. The families of village military men were another favorite target. The Viet Cong would entice the militia away from the village—and when they returned they would find their wives and children massacred.

While the facts of these mass assassinations are not generally known in our country, they are known in Viet Nam. And this is one of the reasons why the Vietnamese people hate the Communists, and why they continue to resist them despite the chronic political instability in Saigon and despite the seeming hopelessness of their situation.

For some strange reason, the torture of one Viet Cong prisoner aroused far more indignation in our country than the assassination of scores of thousands of innocent civilians by the Viet Cong Communists, including the bombing of a school bus in which a score of children died.

But, if the Vietnamese people are anti-Communist, I have been asked, why has the Vietnamese army put up so poor a show?



Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho) has been one of the foremost proponents of "negotiations" in Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese army has been handicapped by political instability. . . But it is simply not true that the Vietnamese army has shown no willingness to fight. . . .

I have here the comparative figures for Vietnamese and Viet Cong casualties for the three-year period 1962 to 1964, which I have received from an official source. I wish to read them because they throw an altogether new light on the situation in Viet Nam. . . .

Even last year, when the fortunes of war turned against the Vietnamese government, the Vietnamese army killed 17,000 Viet Cong against a loss of 7,000 men and took 4,200 Communists captives against 5,800 captives lost to them.

To those who say that the Vietnamese army has not shown the will to resist, I point out that, over the three-year period for which I have presented figures, this army suffered a total death toll of 17,000 men, which is almost as high as the total American toll in South Korea. The enemy's casualties have been much heavier. But the Communists have continued to attack regardless of losses. . . .

The fact that the Viet Cong seem to be winning and that they have been so effective in resisting government counterattacks, has led some people to believe that the Viet Cong soldier is convinced of the justice of his cause and that this is why he fights more grimly.

The Communists are masters of the art of imposing iron discipline by means of unlimited terror.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You will recall that during the Korean war we all marvelled at the discipline of the Chinese Communist soldiers who kept on marching without breaking step while they were being bombed and strafed by American planes. . . .

You will also recall the terrible riots in the Koje prisoner-of-war camp, when the prisoners seemed so grimly united against us. . . .

But then the end of the war came—and it turned out that 20,000 out of 25,000 of the Communist prisoners in our hands asked for refugee status rather than returning to their homelands. . . .

I remind my colleagues, because these things tend to be forgotten, of the evidence which emerged that the Koje prisoners of war had been terrorized by a tiny minority of Communist militants who ran the camp with an iron hand, torturing political opponents, staging kangaroo courts, and executing and burying those who were sentenced.

I also remind them of the scenes that took place when the prisoners were brought before the Communist interrogators under the procedures set up by the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. The prisoners had to be dragged before the interrogators forcibly, their arms pinned behind their backs by Indian soldiers. . . .

In the light of this conclusion, how much significance can one attach to the seemingly fanatical courage displayed by the Chinese and North Korean soldiers in attacking our positions, or to the grim unity of the Koje prisoners of war in resisting their American captors?. . .

As matters now stand, the average Vietnamese peasant fears that the Communists are going to win the war, and he knows the terrible punishment that awaits those who inform on the Communists. This is why our intelligence has admittedly been inadequate. But this is a situation that could change dramatically if we succeeded in convincing the Vietnamese people of our determination to help them retain their freedom, and if we succeeded in inflicting a number of significant defeats on the enemy.

The myth of Buddhist persecution and the parallel myth that the Buddhists are opposed to the government, have, because of the so-called militant Buddhist movement, become important political factors in Viet Nam. It is, therefore, important that we should seek to understand the nature of this movement. . . .

At the invitation of President Diem, the U.N. General Assembly decided to send a fact-finding mission to South Viet Nam to look into the situation. While the mission was still in the country, President Diem and his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, were overthrown and assassinated.

The mission decided that the overthrow of Diem made it unnecessary to come up with a formal finding. But the summary of the testimony which it had taken in Viet Nam pointed strongly to the conclusion that the persecution of the Buddhists was either non-existent or vastly exaggerated and that the agitation was essentially political. This, in essence, was what I was told in a personal conversation with Ambassador Fernando Volio Jimenez of Costa Rica, who had introduced the motion calling for the setting up of the U.N. mission and who served as a member of it.

Ambassador Pinto of Dahomey, another member of the U.N. mission, expressed himself in similar terms in public.

The entire tragic story suggests that the free world was made the victim of a gigantic propaganda hoax, as a result of which the legitimate government of President Diem was destroyed and a chaotic situation created which has inevitably played into the hands of the Communists. . . .

A man who wants to become a Buddhist monk does not have to prepare himself for his ministry by engaging in studies, nor does he have to be ordained, nor does he take any vow.

He simply shaves his head and dons the saffron robe and enters a monastery—and overnight he becomes one of the religious elite.

When he wishes to leave the monastery, he sheds his robe and leaves it; if he wishes to re-enter, he dons his robe again and re-enters.

I do not criticize this procedure on religious grounds. . . .

But, regrettably, it is a procedure that leaves the door wide open to Communist infiltration.

No stable government can be created in Viet Nam without the participation and support of responsible Buddhist leadership. But this responsible leadership cannot be found among the handful of monks of questionable antecedents who have been misdirecting the militant Buddhist movement in the cities of Viet Nam.

False French Analogy

Over and over again in recent months I have heard it said that our position in Viet Nam is impossible because the French, who knew Viet Nam so much better than we do, were compelled to admit defeat after eight years of war against the Viet Minh. A recent half-page advertisement in the New York *Times* asked: "How can we win in Viet Nam with less than 30,000 advisers, when the French could not win with an army of nearly half a million . . .?"

Our own position is entirely different from the French position in Indochina. . . The French military effort in Indochina was doomed because it had against it not only the Communists but the overwhelming majority of the Indochinese people. It was a war fought by Frenchmen against Indochinese.

The United States, however, does not seek to impose its control on Viet Nam or exploit Viet Nam. We are not a colonial power. We seek only to help the people of South Viet Nam defend their freedom against an insurgency that is inspired and directed and aided by the North Vietnamese Communists. This is understood by the Vietnamese people. And that is why hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese who fought with Ho Chi Minh against the French are today fighting for the Saigon government against the Viet Cong.

That is why the war against the Viet Cong can be won, while the war of French colonialism against the Indochinese independence movement was doomed from the outset. . . .

Let me set forth some of these things that I believe can be done:

(a) **The Need for a Stepped-Up Political Warfare Effort:** From many conversations with Vietnamese and with Americans who have served in various capacities in Viet Nam, I am convinced that another one of our major weaknesses lies in the field of political warfare. . . .

The prime goal of political warfare, as it must be waged by free men, is to win men's minds. The prime goal of political warfare, as it is waged by the Communists, is to erode and paralyze the will to resist by means of total terror.

I have pointed out that the Vietnamese people have a proud history and a strong sense of national unity. All Vietnamese, whether they live in the north or south, would like to see a unified and peaceful Viet Nam. But as matters now stand, only the Communists are able to hold forth the prospect of the re-unification of Viet Nam. To date we have not given the South Vietnamese government the green light to set up a "Committee for the Liberation of North Viet Nam," as the counterpart to the "Liberation Front" which the Communists have set up in the south. This places the South Vietnamese side at a grave disadvantage.

There are any number of patriotic North Vietnamese refugees who have been itching for the opportunity to set up a Liberation Committee for the North. The establishment of such a committee could, in my opinion, have an immediate and profound impact on the conduct of the war.

(b) **Carrying the Guerrilla War to the North:** . . . In May of 1961, when I returned from Laos and Viet Nam, I made a statement, which I should like to repeat today.

"The best way for us to stop Communist guerrilla action in Laos and in South Viet Nam is to send guerrilla forces into North Viet Nam, to equip and supply those patriots already in the field; to make every Communist official fear the just retribution of an outraged humanity; to make every Communist arsenal, government building, communications center and transportation facility a target for sabotage; to provide a rallying point for the great masses of oppressed people who hate communism because they have known it. Only when we give the Communists more trouble than they can handle at home will they cease their aggression against the outposts of freedom."

I believe that every word I said in 1961 is doubly valid today.

(c) **A Few Military Suggestions:** The Communist party over which Ho Chi Minh presided for many years was the "Communist Party of Indochina." Indeed, to this day, there is no such thing as a Communist party of Viet Nam. Ho Chi Minh's thinking and strategy are directed towards the re-unification of all the former territories of French Indochina under his personal sway. This makes it imperative for us to develop a coordinated strategy for the entire area if we are to cope effectively with the Communist strategy.

[Another] proposition is that there are certain dramatic military actions open to us that do not involve the territory of North Viet Nam.

The hub of the Ho Chi Minh Trail is the town of Tchepone, inside the Laotian frontier, just south of the 17th Parallel, the dividing line between North Viet Nam and South Viet Nam. Through Tchepone pour most of the reinforcements and equipment from North Viet Nam. From Tchepone the men and equipment are infiltrated into South Viet Nam along hundreds of different jungle trails.

I recall that when I met with President Diem in April of 1961, he urged that the Americans assist him and the Laotian government in pre-emptive action to secure three key centers in the Laotian Panhandle—Tchepone, Saravane and Attopeu—in order to prevent the large-scale infiltration which is today taking place. I still have a copy of the marked map which he gave me in outlining his project. Had Diem's advice been followed there would have been no Ho Chi Minh Trail. . . .

Finally . . . the Charter of SEATO will have to be modified so that one nation cannot veto collective action by all the other nations. . . .

Churchill's Legacy

In recent days, the free world has paid tribute to its greatest champion of our age, Winston Churchill.

It is a curious thing that though Churchill is acknowledged on all sides as the pre-eminent figure of our time and as the highest embodiment of Western statesmanship, he was throughout his life, and remains today, a prophet unheeded, a statesman whom men venerate but will not emulate.

It may well be that Winston Churchill's greatest legacy will prove to be, not the legacy of his immortal deeds, but that of his example and his precepts; and that free men of the future will pay him the homage denied by his contemporaries, the tribute of imitation and acceptance of his message.

As we ponder the passing of this heroic figure and reflect upon his career and try to draw from it lessons which we might apply to the aggressive onslaught that we face today in a hundred ways on a hundred fronts, we might take to heart this advice which he gave in the dark days of 1941 to the boys of Harrow, his old school.

"Never give in. Never, never, never, never! Never yield to force and the apparently overwhelming might of the enemy. Never yield in any way, great or small, large or petty, except to convictions of honor and good sense."

Let us resolve to nail this message to the mast-head of our ship of state in this year of decision.

Vietnamese troops maneuver a raft in swamps near Saigon.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Open Letter to President Johnson

What Is 'Work and Sacrifice' in 'Great Society'?

By DONALD I. ROGERS

President Lyndon B. Johnson
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Your stirring message at the 100th anniversary observance of the University of Kentucky on Washington's Birthday was reminiscent of other great calls to a cause by other leaders of men at other historic moments. You asked the young adults assembled there to "work and sacrifice—and *dare*" to become members of the "Great Society."

Winston Churchill, too, you'll remember, called on his people to sacrifice, and he promised only "blood, sweat and tears," as had a Roman leader centuries before.

Andrew Jackson called upon Americans to work and sacrifice and he promised only the suspected riches of the unexplored West. There have been many others—Washington, himself, whose birthday you were observing as you spoke, Lincoln, Wilson, Roosevelt.

At the request of my 20-year-old son I am emboldened to ask that you define what you mean by "work and sacrifice." You told the young folks at the university that they were "living in the wrong generation" if they wish a "sheltered and uneventful life," and then you promised only work and sacrifice.

Even as you spoke, though, Congress was debating your Medicare bill which would fix it so they won't have to pay for any illness they have. Congress also was prepared to act on your education bill so that these young folks, when they sire their own children, won't have to worry about meeting tuition bills.

While you were speaking, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, meeting at Miami Beach, was drafting a program, endorsed by you and your Administration, which calls for a reduction in the work-week from 40 to 35 hours, an increase in the minimum wage from $1.25 to $2 an hour and double pay instead of time-and-a-half, for each hour of overtime worked.

My son has some questions. Is he to work harder by working less? Is he to make a sacrifice by accepting a 75-cent increase in the minimum wage that can be paid to him? He wants to know what you mean by asking him to "dare" to become a member of the "Great Society," and wonders if you don't think it takes more courage to resist becoming its "member."

He asks also for your definition of membership in the "Great Society," and would like to know if the sacrifice you had in mind involves some measure of his freedom and a significant part of his own individualism.

But you know how kids are, Mr. President. They like to argue. I told him you meant no such thing.

I showed him instead the statement of the Tax Foundation showing that by June 30 the annual total of federal, state and local government spending in behalf of the "Great Society" would be $200 billion, possibly $203 billion, and that this would put a tax burden of $3,336 on every single family in America. You'll remember that it was $1,438 per family in 1950 when we had a less-"Great Society."

I told him *that's* what you meant by "sacrifice"—sacrifice of his earned income and the income of his children who no doubt will "dare" to be protected from cradle to grave.

I thought it fair to tell him you'll want more sacrifices of this nature, too, as we go on to the Greater Society and thence forward to the Greatest Society.

Sincerely yours,

A Confused Father

(Copyright 1965,
Independent Features Syndicate)

LBJ Lets Great Britain Trade With No. Viet Nam

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson is paying a high price for the British Labor government's support of his policy of "controlled" air strikes against North Viet Nam.

In exchange for Prime Minister Wilson's publicly voiced approval of such tightly limited retaliatory blows, the President has agreed not to interfere in any way, by military or other measures, with the large volume of British shipping to North Viet Nam.

A stringent blockade of North Viet Nam is strongly favored by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, with the vigorous backing of the Navy and Air Force.

British vessels are transporting a heavy volume of vital supplies to North Viet Nam. Foremost is oil from Indonesia—crucially essential for the Communists' trucks and other motor vehicles hauling Soviet arms and munitions from Hanoi, where they are carried by a single-track railway from Red China.

Intelligence estimates that 42 per cent of Western ships engaged in this North Vietnamese trade are British.

Between 30 and 40 Western freighters dock monthly at Haiphong, principal North Viet Nam port on the Gulf of Tonkin. Of them, from 10 to 15 are British. The others fly the flags of France, West Germany, Italy, Greece, Norway, Lebanon, Japan and Panama.

Of 202 Western vessels unloaded at North Viet Nam in the past six months, 82 were British. Cargoes included everything from oil to spare parts for trains and engines.

Under the President's backstage deal with Prime Minister Wilson, the U.S. is barred from any public strictures assailing Britain's highly lucrative trade with the Communist Vietnamese.

The United States has repeatedly denounced such trade with Soviet-satellite Cuba. But no official word of disapproval has yet been uttered about the North Viet Nam traffic.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff first proposed a so-called "limited" blockade of the North Viet Nam coast last November. Under this plan, only ships carrying food and medical supplies would have been allowed entry. All other cargoes would have been barred, particularly military and strategic.

No exceptions would have been permitted, regardless of the nationality of the vessels—Western, Soviet bloc, Red Chinese, etc.

After long deliberation—and an exchange of views with Wilson—President Johnson shelved the Joint Chiefs proposal.

At the same time, he also ruled out bombing strikes against Haiphong and the big airfield near this key point. This airfield is the second most important in North Viet Nam. A number of Russian MIG fighters has been observed on this field. The President barred such air strikes on the ground Western ships might be hit.

Following the recent Viet Cong attacks on U.S. installations in South Viet Nam, the Joint Chiefs again urged blockading the North Viet Nam coast. They pointed out that a rigorous embargo would add pressure on the Communists to seek a negotiated settlement of the protracted conflict.

But their counsel fell on deaf ears at the White House—where the President had come to a secret understanding with Prime Minister Wilson.

* * *

Officials at the National Archives report they now have more than 40,000 photographs of the President on file. The negatives of all pictures taken of Johnson and various visitors to the White House are indexed and sent to the Archives. The file also includes photos of the President campaigning and attending public functions.

(Distributed 1965
by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

CAR BUMPER STICKER

GREAT SOCIETY TAXPAYER

VOICE YOUR OPINION AGAINST THE INCREASING TAX LOAD ON THE PRIVATE CITIZEN

TAXPAYERS INC.
Box 304
Coffeyville, Kansas

Please send ..... stickers. My check for $..... is enclosed.

Single stickers $1; 5 for $4; 10 for $7.

NAME.....
(Please Print)
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....
ZONE .....STATE .....

Instruction in Freedom Needed

The Uneducated Young

From the Richmond *News Leader*

In recent months, Northwestern University, Purdue University, the University of Wisconsin and *U.S. News and World Report* have been conducting a survey among American high school juniors and college juniors in an effort to determine political trends among young Americans. The results of this survey were reported in *Action* magazine, a publication of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, last month.

Among the students surveyed:

- 71 per cent would deny an accused person the right to confront his accuser.
- 40 per cent believe certain groups should be denied the right of peaceful assembly.
- 41 per cent believe that freedom of the press should be cancelled.
- 34 per cent favor denying free speech to certain persons.
- 26 per cent would allow search and seizure without consent.
- 53 per cent believed in government ownership of banks, railroads and steel companies.
- 56 per cent voted for close government regulation of all business.
- 62 per cent said that the government has the responsibility to provide jobs.
- 62 per cent thought a worker should not produce all he can.
- 61 per cent rejected the profit incentive as necessary to the survival of free enterprise.
- 84 per cent denied that patriotism is vital and plays an important part in our lives.

A number of writers, analyzing these figures, believe they provide additional proof that the doomsayers are not far wrong in their predictions of a welfare state in this country. That may well be, but the results of the survey also speak volumes about the poor quality of courses in history and American government offered in most high schools and colleges these days.

Then, too, the results offer an eloquent rebuttal to the thesis that the minimum age for voting should be lowered, perhaps by constitutional amendment. If a majority of those under 21 don't know what American government is all about, as the results of this survey would indicate, it is doubtful that they could intelligently exercise a right to vote.

More than anything, these shocking figures tell us of the massive job to be done in the education of our youngsters—not only in the schools, but also through the business community. Freedom and free enterprise are parts of a priceless inheritance. If these figures are valid, our generation is tossing these assets away.

□ □ □

Progress?

From the Chicago *Tribune*

"There is much from which to take heart. . . . The deficit in our balance of payments has been reduced—from $3.9 billion in 1960 to $2.4 billion in 1961 and $2.2 billion in 1962."—John F. Kennedy, July 18, 1962.

"Last year, our flow of dollars abroad . . . still exceeded our dollar credits from foreigners by $3 billion. This represents steady improvement over the $3.6-billion deficit in 1962 and the $3.3 billion deficit in 1963."—Lyndon B. Johnson, Feb. 10, 1965.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labor Can Control Leaders Under 14b

By WILLIAM L. WHITE

In the Emporia (Kan.) *Gazette*

You think you have read all sides concerning the current longshoremen's strike which has tied up Atlantic and Gulf Coast shipping, but there is one badly under-publicized fact which maybe you missed.

You probably read that the leaders of the union had reached an agreement with the shippers.

You probably read that these union leaders then recommended this agreement to their rank and file. You probably read that this rank and file then violently rejected this agreement, so carefully negotiated by their leaders, and went on an unauthorized strike.

What did the rank and file dislike about that agreement? Well, for years this union has had the "check-off," an arrangement under which the union does not need to collect dues from each member, for by agreement these dues are deducted from his pay check by the company, and paid over to the union officials.

In this way, see, the union officials get their money punctually, and the union member does not have to go to the trouble of hunting up a ballpoint to write a check for his dues.

The new contract negotiated by their officials provided a number of benefits to which these officials could point with pride.

But it also included a sharp hike in those union dues which, under the check-off, are deducted from each man's wages, and paid by the company to the union's officers.

The rank and file could not quite see this hike in their dues, to the sole benefit of their union officials, as a mighty victory wrested from the exploiting capitalists and handed over to the toiling masses. Hence that explosion of "unauthorized" strikes, which was the only way the members of that union could show their anger at their union leaders.

For, under federal law, they are stuck with them. Union membership is compulsory. A man who feels that he does not need or does not like a union has no choice; he cannot resign; they go right on deducting his dues from his pay check.

Labor over the nation does not enjoy the freedom enjoyed by Kansas labor under our right-to-work law. This freedom is possible only because Section 14b in the Taft-Hartley law permits each state to decide for itself the matter of compulsory union membership, and Kansas is one of 20 (including Texas) which upholds the right-to-work principle.

But for how long? In the recent campaign, President Lyndon Johnson promised Walter Reuther and George Meany that he would seek the repeal of 14b. Still more recently he has recommended its repeal to Congress, arguing that it will promote industrial peace and keep down strikes.

Well, just how? Had those longshoremen the rights enjoyed by Kansas labor, this current strike would have been unnecessary, for none of them could have been forced to pay the increased dues to which they so strongly objected.

A right-to-work law keeps the leadership of labor on its toes. If a union serves its own officers instead of its members, there is something the member can do about it. If he is not sold on the value of the union, he can stop kicking in.

A federal right-to-work law would have made the current longshoremen's strike unnecessary, for this strike is as much against the union leaders as it is against the shipping lines.

□ □ □

Private Airlines Outshine Public

From the Arizona *Republic*

The airlines have proved that one person can do the work of three.

Consider Pan American Airways Corp., a private enterprise, and British Overseas Airways Corp. (BOAC), operated by the British government. The two airlines may be compared because both make relatively long flights per passenger.

Pan American operates 116 planes, somewhat more than twice the 56 flown by BOAC. But Pan American has only 20 per cent more employes than BOAC. The figures are Pan American, 24,851 employes, and BOAC, 20,783.

Yet during 1963 Pan American flew more than two and one-half times as many revenue passenger miles (8,069,397,000) as did BOAC (3,023,470,000). Pan American flew 324,711 revenue passenger miles per employe. BOAC traveled only 145,478 miles per employe.

Now compare Trans World Airlines (TWA), privately owned, with government-operated Air France. TWA provided almost two and one-half times the number of revenue passenger miles per employe as Air France in 1963.

Take Northwest Airlines (private) which operates 50 aircraft, and KLM (Dutch government-operated) with a fleet of 57 planes. Northwest provided 388,626 revenue passenger miles per employe to only 101,968 for KLM.

Three other privately-owned airlines, Continental, National and Western, averaged from 390,000 to 461,000 revenue passenger miles for each employe while three government-owned lines, Scandinavian, Lufthansa and Swissair, all averaged about 135,000 per employe.

The figures indicate that one person employed under the profit motive does the work of three government employes. A government airline with more workers than necessary to do the job means the citizens of that country pay for the extra wages through taxes.

Socialists constantly claim government ownership is good for the people in that it eliminates the "anarchy of the free market."

Judging by the airlines figures, the people would get more service for less money with more anarchy.

□ □ □

COLLISION COURSE—Nasser should have known better when he told Uncle Sam to jump in the ocean. We wouldn't dare. Too much danger we we might get run down by the armada of ships ferrying U.S. goodies to Egypt. —By Bernie Yudain in *Roll Call*

Federal Paperwork Jungle

By REP. RICHARD H. POFF (R.-Va.)

As federal income tax time approaches, an interesting statistic has just come to my attention. The Internal Revenue Service is the largest paperwork agency in the world, annually processing over 400 million tax forms.

This unbelievable figure helps bring into focus one of the deleterious by-products of big government—the federal paperwork jungle which imposes upon the public in general and the businessman in particular an onerous, expensive burden. Each year, it costs industry, business and the public an estimated $20 billion to process government reports, and it costs the taxpayer an additional $7 billion each year to underwrite the cost to the federal government of processing its own paperwork.

The federal agencies now require more than one billion reports each year. This comes to five for every man, woman and child in the United States. The Government Printing Office prints 2.25 billion forms of various kinds each 12 months, or 11 for every American.

There is little doubt that it is the small businessman who suffers most from the requirement for federal reports, forms and statistics. Many small businesses cannot afford to employ a full-time accountant or bookkeeper needed to comply with the many demands of Big Government bureaucracy. A congressional investigating committee has estimated that government paperwork can take up to 35 per cent of a small businessman's time—time which otherwise might have been spent in saving a faltering business enterprise, or making a marginal operation show a reasonable profit.

Even though large corporations may be better equipped to cope with the perils of the paperwork jungle, some staggering statistics have just been made public which demonstrate the enormity of the problem. One firm in 1963 had to handle 2,700 different kinds of reports with half-a-million copies to be filled out to meet the combined federal, state and local government reporting requirements.

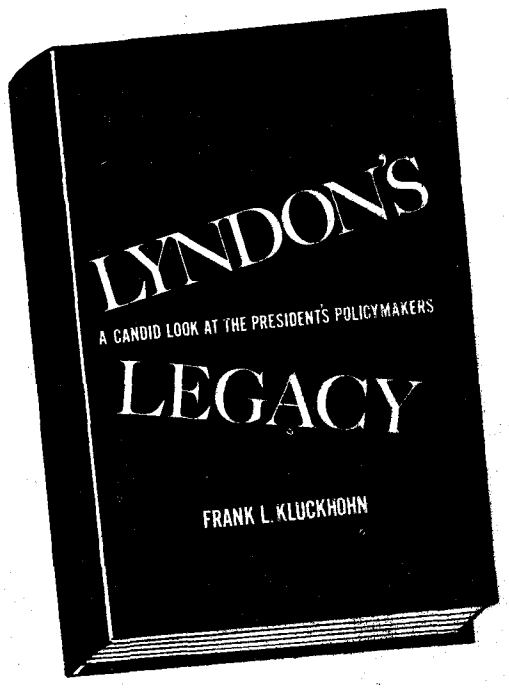
In spite of all these uncontested statistics, the federal bureaucrats have shown very little concern over the burden they are imposing on the people they are supposed to be serving. For example, an official of the Internal Revenue Service testified before Congress that most taxpayers could complete Form 1040 in 20 minutes, while most taxpayers contacted by the committee stated that 20 hours would be closer to the truth. A Labor Department witness said that a wage and hour form could be completed in 36 minutes, while an industry spokesman said that it required 40 hours. It is obvious that many of these agencies not only do not know the cost to the public in filling out form after form, but they do not want to know.

□ □ □

INAUGURAL COST—With all the talk about frugality in government Sen. Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.) found it interesting that President Johnson's 1965 inauguration was the most costly in history, the total outlay being estimated at more than $1.5 million.

HERE IS THE "GREAT SOCIETY" AND ITS

CURIOUS CREW



LAID BARE IN THIS BOOK BY FRANK KLUCKHOHN

• Who are the strange men now guiding our ship of state? • An indexed, documented inquiry into the background of the Rusks, Rostows, Bundys, Yarmolinskys and Nitzes and what it portends for the future.

• 335 PAGES

ONLY $4.95

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Frank L. Kluckhohn knows Washington inside as few do. Among his important positions he has been Advisor to the first Secretary of Defense and, from 1955 to 1961, was a Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Security and Consular Affairs in the State Department. For almost 20 years he was a New York Times foreign and Washington correspondent, covering the White House for many years. During World War II he went overseas and reported on all the Allied landings, from the first one in Africa to the last in Japan. The author of America: Listen! and other books, he is now a free-lance writer whose articles have appeared in many major national magazines.

HUMAN EVENTS • 410 FIRST ST., S.E. • WASHINGTON D.C. 20003

Please send me.....copies of "Lyndon's Legacy" at $4.95 each, postage paid. My check for.....is attached.

Name .....
(Please Print)
Street .....

City .....State .....

Air Mail—75¢ per Book

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'It's Just a Little Old Pill—Open Wide'

Courtesy St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Deficit Spending Chief Inflationist

From the Indianapolis *News*

The chief argument behind the Medicare drive is that old people living on fixed incomes cannot afford the high and rising prices of hospital care and medicine. As one pro-Medicare spokesman put it some years ago, "due to inflation, sky-rocketing prices have pushed medical rates and expenses so high that when illness strikes some elderly people their lifelong savings are wiped out."

This is indeed a problem, and a serious one. But before rushing the Medicare program through to enactment, we should ask ourselves how such a situation came to be, and whether the Johnson regime's proposal would alleviate it or make it worse. Brief inspection of the facts will demonstrate that the latter result is the one more likely to be forthcoming.

Inflation and rising prices, not only for medicine, but for everything else, are real difficulties for people living on Social Security or other fixed incomes. The cost of everything they buy goes up, but their ability to pay does not go up with it. It is therefore all too easy for their savings to be wiped out by calamities of one sort or another.

But who and what creates inflation? The answer is government, through deficit spending. Inflation is the result of new money pumped into the economy without a correspondent increase in the volume of production—a condition accentuated every time the U.S. government goes into debt, and borrows or prints money to make up the deficit. This is precisely the course being followed now by Lyndon Johnson, as it has been the course of the present Democratic administration for the past four years.

If heavy government spending and deficits are the cause of inflation, then, it is apparent the problem cannot be cured through still more spending and still more deficits. Yet this is exactly what the Medicare proposal would attempt to do—enact yet other federal expenditures, adding to the cash outflow from Washington and giving the spiral of inflation another upward twist. Which will mean still another hardship for still other people on pensions in years to come.

There is only one real answer to inflation's silent theft of savings and pensions. That is, not to increase federal spending, but to curtail it. To stop the mounting outlay of money from the federal Treasury, to bring the budget into balance, and to shore up the purchasing power of the dollar. Until that course is followed, no program in Washington, and no amount of statistical hocus-pocus, can cure the financial problems besetting America's senior citizens.

□ □ □

"YOU TAKE THEIR MONEY"—In a city commission discussion the other day, a question was raised about what the city could do in relation to state and federal programs. It was then that Mayor Ralph Kelley remarked: "You take their money and you take their rules." He's absolutely right. With the money comes control. In fact, the Supreme Court has ruled that the federal government has a right to control what is subsidizes. When they try to tell you that federal aid to anything doesn't mean federal control, just remember the truth. "You take their money and you take their rules."—From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Any Medical Care Plan Would Cost Billions

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

The American system of free enterprise medicine has proved itself the best the world has ever seen, providing the highest quality of medical care to more people, stimulating research and almost fantastic advancement and daily adds new miracles to save and prolong life.

American medicine is such a good thing that, unfortunately, politics is trying to get into the picture.

Ignoring the constitutional provisions that leave medical care for the people to meet their own needs if they can and for states and their local governmental subdivisions to supply assistance for those who can't meet their own needs, there is an effort by the Johnson Administration to make political hay with an unconstitutional federal program called "Medicare."

In answer to this, the American Medical Assn. has been forced to offer an alternative plan called "Eldercare." Better than either is the individual free enterprise and non-federal system of medical insurance now covering about 80 per cent of all Americans and growing, with state and local programs to fill the gap. But with some new law about to be passed by Congress, it is timely to compare some of the features of Medicare and Eldercare.

Medicare would pay some hospital and nursing home charges for people over 65—whether they need taxpayer-financed assistance or not. The needy might take part; so might a millionaire get his hospital bills paid with your tax money.

Eldercare would provide for hospital and nursing home charges, for drugs, for surgical costs, for physicians' care. But while it would offer much broader service, it would not give it to those who can financially provide for themselves, but only to those who can't afford what they need.

The constrast between Medicare's limited service for all regardless of need and Eldercare's broad service only for those in need provides quite a contrast in cost to the taxpayers.

None of this would be free. You would have to pay for it. Billions of dollars would be involved. Nobody knows how many billions, but you would pay them. Medicare would be far more costly than Eldercare because of its need-or-not coverage. It would be financed by a new payroll tax like that for Social Security. The new tax would be scheduled to take from each individual worker and his employer $33.60 a year at first and $50.40 a year beginning in 1969. This is only a start.

Since inestimable costs are involved, the annual employe-employer tax would soon rise into the hundreds of dollars per person. The kind of money involved is indicated by the fact that it is estimated Medicare would immediately undertake a $35-billion obligation for today's elderly at the time the program begins, with additional costs mounting up for those later coming under the program. Eldercare's cost would not even approach that obligation.

The big thing to remember, whatever any politicians promise, is that you are going to do the paying. You will either stick to free enterprise medicine with private insurance and private individuals, states and local governments meeting needs, or have the federal government providing broad coverage only for those in need through something like Eldercare, or have the federal government imposing new multi-billion-dollar taxation for something like Medicare's limited service to all elderly citizens whether in need or not.

Congress likely will make the decision in the next few months. You would do well to tell your representatives and senators what you want—since you will be paying for it the rest of your lives.

□ □ □

IT'S RIDICULOUS to expect the President to urge Walter Jenkins to testify in the Baker case. Lyndon hardly knew Jenkins just as thoroughly as he never heard of Baker.—By Jack Wilson in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

□ □ □

POVERTY WAR—"You go newshunting at No. 1200 on 19th Street, N.W., in Washington and you are handed a stout brochure with the bold-faced label: "President's War On Poverty." If you're suspicious, as all newsmen should be, you wonder where Mr. President got personal title to this anti-poverty campaign. Congress simply called it Public Law 88-452, alias the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. You've been to the Pentagon many times without being handed a propaganda package labeled "LBJ's War in Viet Nam."—Syndicated columnist Holmes Alexander

□ □ □

THROAT OF THE MATTER—There's been such great publicity over the 'Executive flu' going around Washington, Republicans are being accused of attempting a *croup d'etat*.

□ □ □

Declining Value Of U.S. Dollar

As Rep. Paul Findley has recently noted, "Inflation remains a constant and ever-increasing threat to the American way of life." The table below, compiled by Rep. Richard H. Poff, graphically shows the constant downward trend in the value of the dollar:

Fiscal year	Gross public debt and guaranteed obligations	Interest on public debt	Budget deficit or surplus	Value of dollar, 1939=100
	Millions	*Millions*	*Millions*	*Cents*
1930	$16,185	$659	+$738	83.2
1931	16,801	612	−462	91.4
1932	19,487	599	−2,735	101.7
1933	22,539	689	−2,602	107.4
1934	27,734	757	−3,630	103.8
1935	32,824	821	−2,791	101.2
1936	38,497	749	−4,425	100.2
1937	41,089	866	−2,777	96.7
1938	42,018	926	−1,177	98.5
1939	45,890	941	−3,862	100.0
1940	48,497	1,041	−3,918	99.2
1941	55,332	1,111	−6,159	94.4
1942	76,991	1,260	−21,490	85.3
1943	140,796	1,808	−57,420	80.3
1944	202,626	2,609	−51,423	79.0
1945	259,115	3,617	−53,941	77.2
1946	269,898	4,722	−20,676	71.2
1947	258,376	4,958	+754	62.2
1948	252,366	5,211	+8,419	57.8
1949	252,798	5,339	−1,811	58.3
1950	257,377	5,750	−3,122	57.8
1951	255,251	5,613	+3,510	53.5
1952	259,151	5,859	−4,017	52.3
1953	266,123	6,504	−9,449	51.9
1954	271,341	6,382	−3,117	51.7
1955	274,418	6,370	−4,180	51.9
1956	272,825	6,787	+1,626	51.1
1957	270,634	7,244	+1,596	49.4
1958	276,444	7,607	−2,819	48.1
1959	284,317	7,593	−12,427	47.7
1960	286,471	9,180	+1,224	46.9
1961	289,211	8,957	−3,856	46.4
1962	298,645	9,120	−6,378	45.9
1963	306,466	9,895	−6,266	45.4
1964	312,526	10,666	−8,226	44.8
Total 1930–64		153,822	−287,291	

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Was So Wrong With Booker T. Washington?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

If the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wishes to advance the interests of colored people in a quietly useful way, it could not do better than to circulate an article which appears in the current *Harper's*. Here Mr. Irving Kristol, a New Yorker and a liberal, has said some things that urgently need saying—things that Southern conservatives would like to say but find themselves foreclosed from saying. Mr. Kristol offers, quite thoughtfully, "a few kind words from Uncle Tom."

He is addressing himself primarily to the militant Negro leaders—the intellectuals, the writers, the entertainers, the student rebels, the organizers of strikes and marches and demonstrations—but he is speaking also to a much larger audience of Negro teachers, ministers, businessmen, housewives, common laborers. His message to the Negro people, drawn partly from the wisdom of the Jewish people, is to look within themselves for solution of their problems.

This is not a popular message, and Mr. Kristol is likely to find himself roundly denounced for putting it forward. As he observes, the tendency today is "to Baldwinize" the Negro experience in America—to present it "as something utterly and irretrievably hateful and degrading and sordid, an experience that can find salve and salvation in nothing but indignation, even hate."

These passions seize upon the white man as oppressor and enemy to such an extent that little seems to matter but militancy against "the white power structure." And middle-class Negroes who are not totally committed to militancy, night and day, find themselves scorned as "Uncle Toms," in the bitter epithet, or as "Booker-Tees."

Well, asks Mr. Kristol, what was so wrong with Uncle Tom? Why is Booker T. Washington rejected by a new generation of American Negroes? He makes the point, and surely it is a point worth making, that the serene Uncle Tom and the industrious Washington were superior men. They were possessed of pride in themselves, and in their race, and in their own integrity; their purpose was not to obliterate their own identity through assimilation into a predominantly white community, but to build upon that identity and to earn their own way.

There exists today, as Mr. Kristol says, a Negro middle class that would like to go the same way, "making money, owning homes and autos, sending its children to private schools, and, in general, 'being respectable' to an extreme." In a climate of whirlwind militancy, these Negroes are slandered, yet their ambitions "are of crucial importance for the establishment of firm economic social and moral foundations for an eventually prosperous Negro community." Without such foundations, "militancy itself can win only transient and therefore empty victories."

How is a solid and respected Negro community to be achieved? Mr. Kristol's blunt suggestion is for Negroes to concern themselves less with the proposition "that all the ills of the Negro condition derive from white wickedness," and turn more of their attention to self-help and mutual aid within the Negro community itself.

"It is perfectly understandable and appropriate," he writes, "that the young people of CORE should scatter garbage over the Triborough Bridge, as a means of inciting the white conscience to a concern over the filthy streets and alleys of Harlem. But would it not be better if, at the same time, they turned some of their energy to collecting Harlem's garbage and cleaning up Harlem's streets?"

"It is all well and good," Mr. Kristol remarks at another point, "to persuade (or coerce) white employers into hiring Negroes. It is even better to have a class of Negro employers who would automatically—as do businessmen of other ethnic groups—extend job preference to 'their own kinds of people.'"

This is sound advice, and coming from a New Yorker who believes strongly in the Negro's struggle for civic equality, it should carry impressive weight. In the South or in the North, the Negro's story is not wholly a story of hate, misery, oppression and despair; there is happiness, accomplishment and serenity also. Neither are the Negro's liabilities, South or North, wholly the consequence of white discrimination; and these liabilities will not vanish with the writing of court decrees and legislative acts.

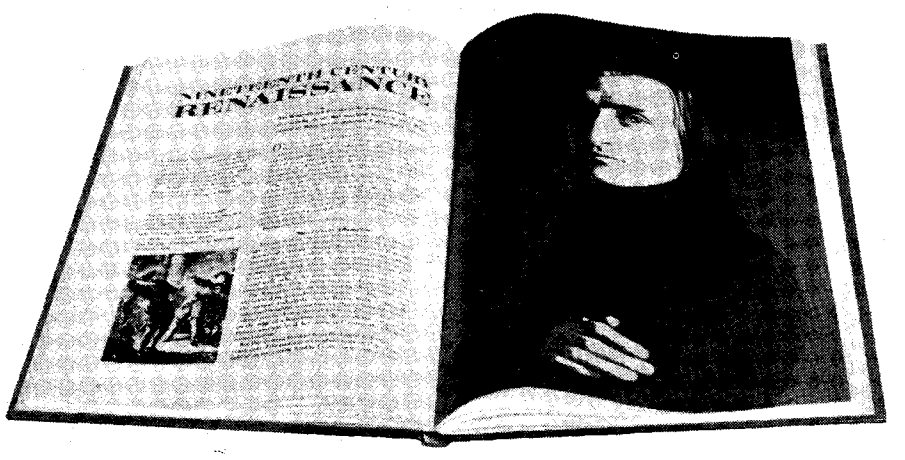
The abiding, fundamental need is for pride and character and self-respect, and these are not likely to be found in the maledictions of James Baldwin; they are more likely to be found in the prayers of Uncle Tom.

(Copyright 1965, *Newsday*)

□ □ □

ROCKY'S TAXES—Commenting on Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's request for a state-wide sales tax in New York, the United Taxpayers of Long Island remark: "Tiffany Jewelers' President Walter Hoving heads a group of New York's largest business concerns, including Macy's and Gimbel's, which comes to life only when sales tax increases are proposed. They must realize that fighting confiscatory taxation is a 365-days-a-year job—whether they like it or not."

THIS REMARKABLE BOOK ABOUT MUSIC



CAN OPEN NEW WORLDS OF ENJOYMENT FOR YOU AND YOUR FAMILY

It comes to you as part of a unique music enjoyment package when you accept this exciting free demonstration offer

IMAGINE what it would be like if you could sit down and listen to good music with the special knowledge and background it takes seasoned concert-goers years to acquire! This rare privilege – *the pleasure of informed listening* – was once reserved to a comparative few. But now it can be yours, through an extraordinary new development in guided music enjoyment.

The Virtuoso Concert Society

This new Society is for people who share today's heightened interest in music and the arts, but have not had the time or opportunity to gain the informed background so necessary for full enjoyment of our music heritage. As a member, you receive superb recordings of the world's great music – and at the same time are given the rich cultural background that makes music listening so much more meaningful and enjoyable.

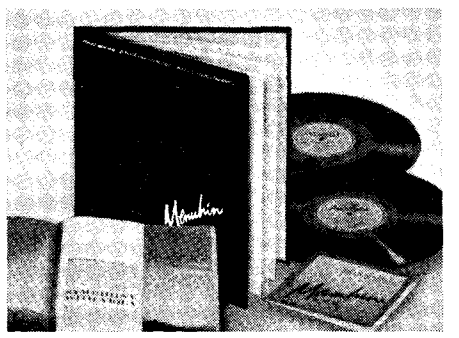
How the Society's program works:

Every six weeks, you are given the opportunity to acquire a magnificent Concert Album with two 12-inch longplaying Angel records. Angel has long been regarded as the leader in classical music recording. You will hear such distinguished artists as Yehudi Menuhin, Otto Klemperer, Pablo Casals, Herbert von Karajan, and others – in acclaimed performances which bring you new insight into a familiar work, or introduce you to an important work with which you may not yet be acquainted.

With each album, you receive an extraordinary 9" by 12" book – like the one shown above – designed to enhance your listening pleasure, and enable you to participate more fully in the exciting cultural events going on about us today.

In this lavish volume, you will find fascinating stories and articles on the great composers – their lives, philosophies and achievements. You will gain new insight into the language, forms and structure of music. You will come to know the colorful virtuoso performers of our era in a way never possible before.

Each companion music book is a thrilling visual experience as well – illustrated



in full color with famous paintings, period engravings, photographs and drawings which vividly re-create the exciting world of music, past and present. Beautifully bound in linenlike hard covers, it is a possession you will display with pride in your home.

Try the introductory package for 10 days Free

Send no money. To receive the Society's first package for trial listening-and-looking, simply mail the free examination form below. When the package arrives, sample it at leisure with your family and friends. Then, if you wish, you may return everything within 10 days and pay nothing. Or, if you are delighted with this new approach to music enjoyment, keep both the two-record Concert Album *and the lavish music volume* for less than you might expect to pay for the records alone – only $8.80, plus a small delivery charge. (Add $2 more if you wish the recordings in stereo.)

In addition, you will receive – Free – an encore selection of your own choice on a third 12-inch longplaying record. Subscribers have found this adds up to a total value unequalled anywhere in the world of music today.

Thereafter, you will be offered other Virtuoso Concert Society packages which will be issued, on approval, at six-week intervals. You may take as few or as many as you like, at the same low price – and receive a Free encore selection *each time*. You may cancel your membership whenever you wish. Mail the coupon today to Virtuoso Concert Society, Waverly, Pennsylvania.

HERE IS WHAT YOU WILL RECEIVE IN YOUR INTRODUCTORY MUSIC ENJOYMENT PACKAGE:

1. Beautiful gold-stamped Concert Album featuring Yehudi Menuhin playing Berlioz' romantic symphony for viola, *Harold in Italy* – winner of the Grand Prix du Disque – and Ernest Bloch's lyrical *Violin Concerto* – a dazzling interpretation of a twentieth century classic. Complete on two 12-inch longplaying Angel records.
2. Lavish music book written by Jacques Barzun, Olin Downes, Suzanne Bloch and other authorities—on the Romantic Music of the Nineteenth Century, Berlioz and his place in our music heritage, the unorthodox composer Ernest Bloch, the remarkable story of virtuoso Yehudi Menuhin, and much more – with dozens of full-color illustrations.
3. Certificate entitling you to a free Encore selection of your own choice.

MAIL THIS COUPON FOR 10 DAYS FREE EXAMINATION

VIRTUOSO CONCERT SOCIETY / WAVERLY, PENNSYLVANIA

Please enter my trial membership and send me your introductory music enjoyment package for free examination. If, after sampling the package, I decide not to continue, I will return everything within 10 days, cancel my membership and owe nothing. Otherwise, I will pay only $8.80, plus small delivery charge, for the complete shipment – including the two-record album and accompanying music book – and I will receive a third longplaying record of my choice Free as an encore selection.

Thereafter, I will be offered – on approval – other music enjoyment packages as issued at six-week intervals, and I may acquire them at the same low price of $8.80. With each package I accept, I will receive a Free encore selection of my choice. I am not obligated to take any minimum number, and may stop whenever I wish.

☐ NOTE FOR STEREO. Check here if you wish the recordings in stereo – only $2 extra for entire package.

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss.....

Address.....

City.....State & Zip.....

8013 VC-04

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen (1899-1964)

Dedicated Associate James L. Wick (1897-1964)

The Declaration of Independence begins: "When in the course of *Human Events* . . ."

In reporting the news, *Human Events* is objective, it aims for accurate presentation of the facts. But it is *not* impartial. It looks at events through eyes that are biased in favor of limited constitutional government, local self-government, private enterprise and individual freedom. These principles represented the bias of the Founding Fathers. We think the same bias will preserve freedom in America.

President	Milton I. Wick
Publisher	Kenneth W. Ingwalson
Executive Editor	Thomas S. Winter
Capitol Hill Editor	Allan H. Ryskind
Business Manager	Robert D. Kephart
Managing Editor	Robert F. Latham
Assistant Editor	Gary W. Russell
Art Director	Jack Stricker
Editorial Production	Ricky J. Lloyd
Shipping Manager	Ray McMurray
Contributing Editors	Frank Chodorov
	Edna Lonigan

Bound Volumes indexed: July-Dec. 1963, $18. April-June, 1963, $18. Jan-March, 1963, $18. Second six months, 1962, $15. First six months, 1961, $15. THE BEST OF *HUMAN EVENTS* 1955-1961, $15.

WHEN WRITING ABOUT YOUR SUBSCRIPTION—an address change, a renewal, a question, a complaint-SEND THE ADDRESS LABEL ON YOUR WEEKLY *HUMAN EVENTS* for address changes. Use zone numbers.

HUMAN EVENTS cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *HUMAN EVENTS*.

Published weekly at 410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 One year subscription, $12.50. Five-week Subscription, $1.

LET YOUR EDITOR KNOW

Newspaper editors are glad to know the preferences of their readers. Your recommendations and those of your friends may cause your editor to choose a conservative columnist rather than a liberal the next time he makes a change. The syndicated columnists whose writings appear in Human Events are:

Holmes Alexander	Barry Goldwater	Russell Kirk	Dr. Max Rafferty	Henry J. Taylor
The Allen-Scott Report	Paul Harvey	Irene Corbally Kuhn	Victor Riesel	George Todt
Constantine Brown	Jenkin Lloyd Jones	Victor Lasky	Donald I. Rogers	Walter Trohan
John Chamberlain	Howard Kershner	Fulton Lewis Jr.	Morrie Ryskind	Alice Widener
Ralph de Toledano	James J. Kilpatrick			

CONTENTS

Jury Re-Indicts Communist Party
From the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star 2

***AFL-CIO's Blueprint for* Disaster**
Courtesy St. Louis Globe-Democrat 2

BBC Has Banned Mention of Red China, Cold War
By Dumitru Danielopol In the San Diego Union 2

Bank Charters as Patronage?
Rep. H. R. Gross Wants Probe
By Fulton Lewis Jr. 3

House Votes HCUA Funds 3

Administration Proposes "Instant Veterans"
From the Omaha Evening World-Herald 6

Viet Nam and the New Isolationism
By Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) 7

What Is 'Work and Sacrifice' in 'Great Society'?
By Donald I. Rogers 10

LBJ Lets Great Britain Trade With No. Viet Nam
From the Allen-Scott Report 10

Labor Can Control Leaders Under 14b
By William L. White in the Emporia (Kan.) Gazette 11

Federal Paperwork Jungle
By Rep. Richard H. Poff (R.-Va.) 11

Private Airlines Outshine Public
From the Arizona Republic 11

Deficit Spending Chief Inflationist
From the Indianapolis News 12

Any Medical Care Plan Would Cost Billions
From the Chattanooga News-Free Press 12

What Was So Wrong With Booker T. Washington?
By James Jackson Kilpatrick 13

Adm. Arleigh Burke Hits 'Gimmick' Foreign Policy
By Holmes Alexander 14

What Causes Slums?
From the Indianapolis Star 14

Spotlight on Congress 15

What Causes Slums?

From the Indianapolis *Star*

One of New York City's most dilapidated blocks is to get a complete renovating job. The $5 million project was announced by Sargent Shriver, national anti-poverty boss.

The blighted area is 114th Street between 8th and 9th Avenues in Harlem. Some 1,600 persons live in the block and the goal is to create decent living conditions for them. The idea is to bring this about through sound use of available funds without demolition of buildings.

It's a sort of experimental project and if it works out as envisioned, doubtless many more such revamping jobs will be scheduled. Hence, the Harlem project is being watched with interest.

We might also learn something about the nature of slums in observing the results of the projects. Obviously, no one ever built a slum as such. A place becomes a slum later, for one reason or another.

Once the work is completed, records should be kept to determine what percentage of the nice clean apartments are maintained that way by the occupants, and what percentage revert to crumbiness because of slovenliness of tenants.

Such figures may help us to find out to what extent slums are caused by natural attrition and to what extent they are caused by people with slummy ways.

Multilateral Nuclear Force

Adm. Arleigh Burke Hits 'Gimmick' Foreign Policy

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Adm. Arleigh Burke, the Navy's old sea lion, probably didn't know he was a conservative till he retired after three unprecedented terms as chief of naval operations (1955-61), having served his country in war and peace without playing any politics. But Burke was always a fundamentalist in action and thought. This quality has landed him firmly in the right-wing echelon since he left military service.

Burke was telling this interviewer what he'd do about South Viet Nam. ("Send American troops to put a bayonet into the Communists' backsides—and shove!") and he was equally unequivocal about how to save a deteriorating situation in Europe ("Be direct! Never use gimmicks!").

The "gimmick" that irks him is the now-fading American policy for the MLF (multilateral nuclear forces). It

Adm. Arleigh Burke, former chief of naval operations, says that Johnson's policies toward our allies have been "indirect."

has done so much to divide us from our European allies that some of their spokesmen feel it has doomed NATO. Adm. Burke wants it understood that he'll back his own country right or wrong, but he has a long record of opposition to the MLF. Now that President Johnson is letting it flicker out, Burke doesn't mind saying what was wrong with MLF in the first place.

"It was a military manipulation to solve a political problem. I don't want to say it was deceitful—but it was indirect."

The political purpose was to give the allies the illusion of controlling the delivery of nuclear weapons, and thereby to dissuade them from making nuclear weapons of their own. The illusion took a form of manning a showboat—the U.S.S. "Ricketts," as guided missile destroyer—with a mixed crew of West Germans, Greeks, Italians, Netherlanders, British and Americans.

The stunt has failed to impress the allies—has irritated them, in fact—because the United States still keeps exclusive control of the nuclear "trigger." Bad military practice has not made good politics in this case. In combat, says Burke, the best arrangement is "one ship, one nation." The cruise of the "Ricketts" has been unpopular among European politicians because the training and replacement of missile-able seamen is very expensive.

Some of this irritation against the American policy of trickery was heard last month at the Ditchley Conference near Oxford, England, where American and British leaders met to exchange ideas on post-election matters in both nations. The United States was represented by eight senators and six congressmen. The United Kingdom had a blue ribbon group of politicians, scientists, journalists and military men, including Lord Mountbatten, Admiral of the Fleet; Selwyn Lloyd from Parliament; Prof. Hugh Trevor-Roper from Oxford and Sir Harold Caccia, former ambassador to Washington. Since the four-day gathering was off-record and not covered by reporters, I do not attach names to quotations, although I obtained a typescript to show to Adm. Burke. The tone of the meeting may be judged by such remarks as these from top-level Britishers.

"MLF is military nonsense . . . . [the] present mixed man trial [by the 'Ricketts'] is heartily disliked . . . [The French] probably will be out of NATO by 1969 and will take Germany with them. If so . . . what will happen to keep Germany tied across the Atlantic?"

Adm. Burke, asked by his interviewer to comment on these remarks, considered them the unfortunate result of our gimmick policy, which pretends to offer what it can't deliver, but the admiral is no man to give up a ship.

"NATO will be around for a long while. Peacetime alliances are usually short-lived. NATO has been the exception because we have paid more than our share, have made sacrifices to convince the allies of our firm intentions and have sent the very finest men as Supreme Commanders."

Directness and fundamentalism make the best foreign policy, says the admiral, whose seamanship was a straight course toward the enemy.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

□ □ □

"WHEN I REALIZE that (a) our national debt is one and one-half times larger than the combined debt of the rest of the world; that (b) our national debt has grown from $22.5 billion in 1939, for an average of $179 per man, woman and child, to $316 billion in 1964 for an average of $1,700 per person; that (c) 37 cents out of every dollar I earn goes for taxes; that (d) 12 cents out of every tax dollar I pay goes for interest on our national debt; and (e) my dollar has depreciated to the extent that 45 cents in 1939 would buy as many groceries as a dollar will today—I become a little worried."—Rep. Joe Skubitz (R.-Kans.).

MOVING?

ALLOW 3 WEEKS FOR YOUR CHANGE OF ADDRESS—so that you won't miss issues of Human Events. **To notify us of your change, simply:**

1. Print **your new address on a plain sheet of paper;**
2. Attach **a copy of the old address label from your last issue of** Human Events **and**
3. **Send it to:**

HUMAN EVENTS
410 First Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Attention: Subscriber Service

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"I believe we must make our stand in Viet Nam if we are ever to stop Communist subversion and conquest. As Thomas Paine said in 1776, 'Tyranny, like Hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph.'"—Rep. James Battin (R.-Mont.)

Military Cutbacks

By REP. JOE D. WAGGONNER (D.-La.)

A cut-back of perhaps $300 million is reflected in the current defense budget. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, the military brains of the country, asked the President for some $60 billion. His recommendation to the Congress: $52.6, a cut of about $7½ billion. The Army faces a reduction of 10,000 men and the closing of more bases. The Air Force will not get either a new bomber or a new interceptor; will lose, in fact, all its B-47s and some of its B-52s.

This reduction in armaments and preparedness comes at a time when there is no lessening in world tensions and strifes, but actually at a time when tensions are increasing, at a time when we are hotly engaged in Viet Nam, stalemated in Europe and on the verge of being forced out or asked out of most of Asia and the South Pacific. It is my opinion that our policy makers *still* have not awakened to the real threat to us posed by Red China.

Temptation to Spend

By REP. FRANK T. BOW (R.-Ohio)

On my office wall is a printed quotation from Calvin Coolidge which reads: "Nothing is easier than the expenditure of public money. It does not appear to belong to anybody. The temptation is overwhelming to bestow it on somebody." It appears that the temptation has overwhelmed whatever feeble resistance may have existed in our government agencies this year. The list of new federal aid programs is monumental.

Bracero Problem

By REP. CATHERINE MAY (R.-Wash.)

Because farm labor problems are now plaguing practically all states which are major producers of perishable crops, chiefly brought about by the exclusion of Mexican farm laborers from the United States at Labor Department insistence, the Canners Association invited [to its annual meeting] William J. Haltigan, chief of research and wage activities, Farm Labor Service, U. S. Department of Labor, to discuss the problems involved in securing domestic workers willing to do the crop harvesting work formerly performed by Mexicans and other foreign workers.

According to the newspaper writer, who attended the convention and heard the speeches, the Labor Department official's advice to the audience of several hundred of the nation's food processors was: Employers must induce workers who are chronically unemployed to accept farm jobs by "making them feel wanted." Asked how this might be achieved, he suggested that employers might try to send such workers Christmas cards and do other little things to establish identification with the workers.

According to the newspaper, shock and disbelief ran through the audience at the suggestion by this representative of our government in a high-level position, and, I must confess, the shock of my colleagues in Congress was equally evident when I advised them on the House floor of Mr. Haltigan's statements.

Also appearing on the program with Mr. Haltigan were spokesmen from various areas of the United States. They stressed the serious consequences that will follow if present policies of the U. S. Department of Labor are not reversed. I certainly hope Mr. Haltigan stayed around to listen to these speeches.

Kenya Aid

By REP. EDWARD J. GURNEY (R.-Fla.)

An incident in Kenya this month best illustrates just how low this nation has sunk in the game of trying to buy friends and somehow emerge as a benevolent father to the world. While a screaming mob was marching on the U.S. embassy there, the Department of Agriculture in Washington was announcing a Food for Peace agreement calling for shipment of $3.7 million worth of corn to that country.

Non-Defense Spending

By SEN. ROMAN L. HRUSKA (R.-Neb.)

If non-defense spending continues to increase at the rate established in 1964, the first calendar year of the Johnson Administration, it will mean a doubling of such expenditures by 1975. Nothwithstanding President Johnson's constant claims of care and frugality, the financial reports put out by the Treasury prove exactly the opposite. The fact is that the more he talks about saving, the higher the rate of spending seems to go. Total federal expenditures in calendar year 1964 increased about $2.7 billion over 1963. All the increases occurred in non-military programs.

The really startling fact is this: spending for all purposes other than the Defense Department's military programs increased nearly 7 per cent in a single year—from $45.8 billion to $48.9 billion. That is an extraordinary jump for a single year and cause for serious concern. If such spending should continue to increase at that percentage rate—and the prospect is that it will if all the Johnson promises are kept—it would mean doubling such spending in less than 7 years. It would mean expenditures of $100 billion a year over and above the Defense Department's military costs.

Americans have always been willing to pay whatever was necessary to provide a strong military defense for this country. I am not so sure they will be so willing to pay twice as much to provide a "Great Society" which emphasizes government activity and downgrades the private initiative which since its founding has been the stimulus of America's growth and greatness.

Creating Incentive

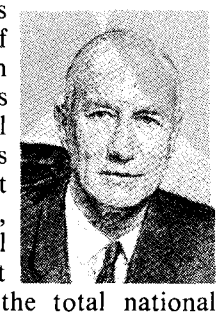
By SEN. GORDON ALLOTT (R.-Colo.)

We offer tax credit for such matters as investment in depreciable equipment, and it seems to me it is equally important to offer an incentive for investment in something even more vital to the continuance of our system of free enterprise . . . human capabilities Let's look at it another way too . . such an incentive as this to private industry provides a job training program that doesn't cost you and me, the taxpayer, the exorbitant administrative costs contained in so many of our recently enacted federal programs.

Federal Activities

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S. C.)

The size and scope of government activities in this country have grown to fantastic proportions in recent years. Of every six employes in this country, one is working for some level of government. Taxes and other government receipts at the state, local and national levels now account for 35 per cent of the total national income. Thus, $1 of every $5 expended in this country for goods and services is spent by government. In fact, total annual government spending in the U.S. is more than $190 billion, three to four times what it was in 1950. The impact of government spending is so terrific that $1 of every $4.50 of personal income is derived from direct government payments.



Most of all this government spending is by the national government. In fact, the national government now supplies state and local governments with 14 per cent of their revenues in federal aid programs, getting them more dependent on and subjecting them to more controls from Washington. This percentage will rise even more in fiscal year 1966, when federal aid programs are estimated to reach $13.6 billion, up 260 per cent since 1956.

Employment by the national government is now so high that federal workers outnumber state government workers in 30 of the 50 states, including the five largest states.

Who's 'Trigger Happy'?

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Do you remember a few months ago when Sen. Goldwater recommended the bombing of Communist troop staging areas and supply lines in North Viet Nam in an effort to stop the slaughter of the South Vietnamese and the Americans fighting with them? The left-wingers labeled Goldwater as "trigger-happy," a "warmonger," "irresponsible," and "dedicated to starting a nuclear war." The election is over and no such left-wing charges are now being leveled against Lyndon Johnson. . . . This member of Congress has long advocated that we either fight to win the war in Viet Nam or get out, and we resent the dirty duplicity of the political hucksters who brand one man as heinous for advocating that course while remaining strangely silent when another politician, over whom they have fawned, shows signs of adopting it.

Get these dynamic Human Events reprints!

Reprints are folded to fit business-size envelopes.

1. The text of Ronald Reagan's brilliant TV address during the recent campaign

2. The rose-checkered career of L.A. mayoralty candidate Jimmy Roosevelt

Orders will be filled the same day received. Please enclose payment.

HUMAN EVENTS • 410 FIRST STREET, S. E. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20003

Please send ..... copies of 'A Time for Choosing' by Ronald Reagan. My check for $..... is enclosed.

Please send ..... copies of 'Jimmy Roosevelt: The Radicals' Choice for L. A. Mayor'. My check for $..... is enclosed

PRICES FOR BOTH REPRINTS:

Single copies 25¢; 10 for $1; 30 for $2; 100 for $5; 300 for $10; 1,000 for $25; 2,750 for $50; 5,000 for $85; 10,000 for $150. All prices are based upon third or fourth class delivery. First class mail, airmail or express extra, and you will be billed for extra shipping and handling costs.

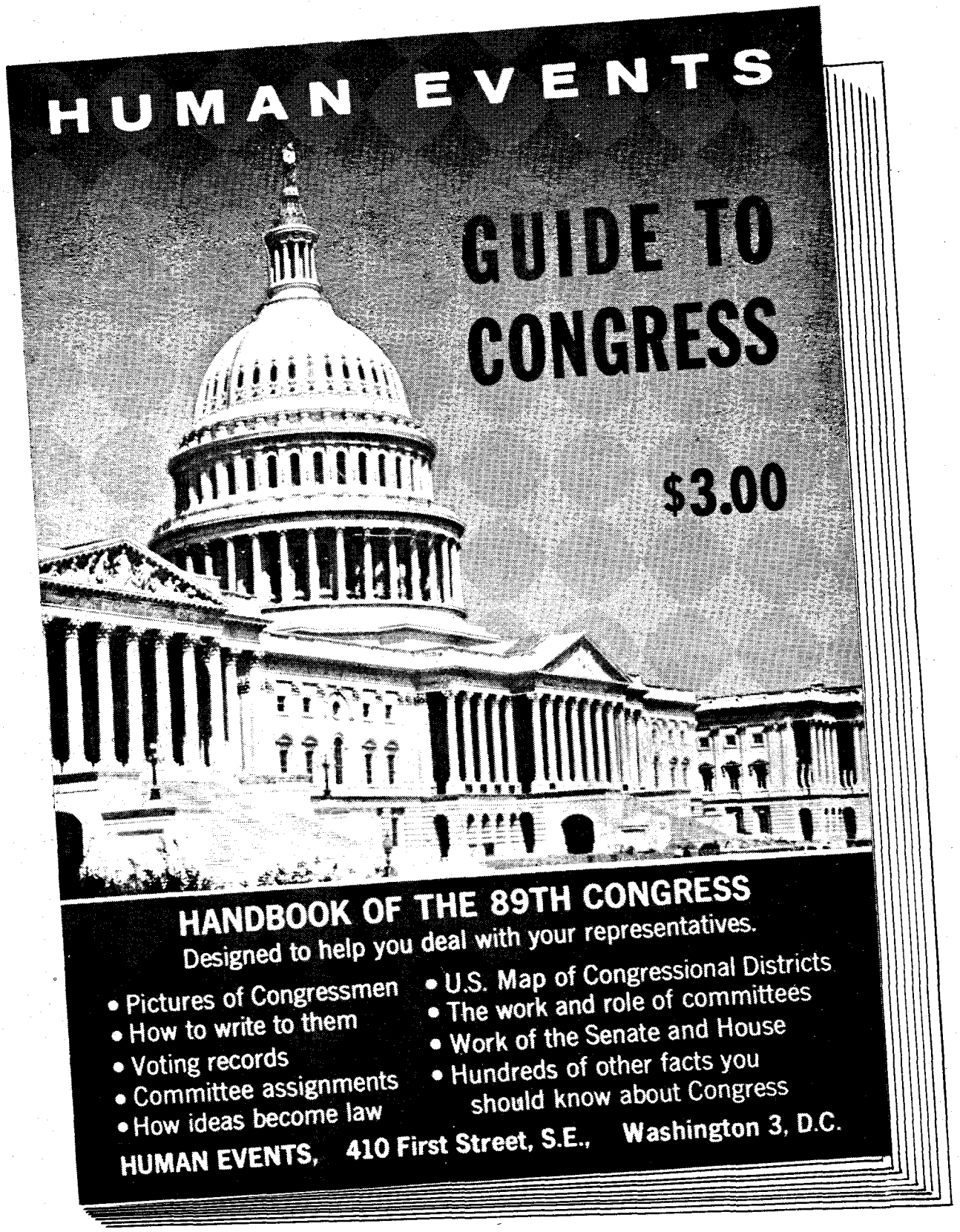
NAME.....
(Please print)
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....
ZONE .....STATE .....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Get HUMAN EVENTS' Fact-Filled, 128-Page Handbook About the New Congress

A treasury of indexed, illustrated data about congress and the congressional processes.

only $3


HUMAN EVENTS
GUIDE TO CONGRESS
$3.00
HANDBOOK OF THE 89TH CONGRESS
Designed to help you deal with your representatives.
• Pictures of Congressmen
• How to write to them
• Voting records
• Committee assignments
• How ideas become law
• U.S. Map of Congressional Districts
• The work and role of committees
• Work of the Senate and House
• Hundreds of other facts you should know about Congress
HUMAN EVENTS, 410 First Street, S.E., Washington 3, D.C.

Handbook of the 89th Congress

Here in one big, fully indexed, handy volume, you have at your finger tips for ready reference and instant use a storehouse of vital information.

You get the answers to such questions as:

- How do ideas become law?
- What does each Committee of the House and Senate do?
- Has your Congressman a liberal or conservative voting record?
- Who serves on the Republican and Democratic *campaign committees?*
- Why should you write to your Senators and Representatives?
- What committees do they serve on?
- How do you influence them effectively with letters?
- What can the President do when a bill is presented?
- What does the Constitution forbid the Congress to do?
- Who is in the Senate "Hall of Fame"?

Many hard-to-understand procedures and programs are made easy for you with diagrams and charts. For example:

- The general powers of Congress are diagramed, showing constituent, legislative, judicial, executive and electoral powers of the Senate and House.
- The organization of the government, listing offices and agencies of the Legislative, Executive and Judicial branches.
- Organization of the Senate and House is shown *on separate charts.*
- A step-by-step diagram showing how a bill to spend taxpayers' money becomes law.

Here, too, you will find:

- All Congressional Districts for each state *on a* 2-page U. S. map.
- The pictures of every Senator and Representative.
- Every Congressman's district, party affiliation and home post office.
- The difference between law-making by state legislatures and the Congress.
- Vital statistics and interesting information about each state, such as the flag, seal and flower.
- A description of the four calendars of the House, the kind of bills listed on each, and the rules governing their consideration.
- A dictionary of Congressional terms.
- Excerpts from the U.S. Constitution.

. . . and hundreds of other facts, figures and articles needed to understand the Congress.

INCLUDING THIS SPECIAL BONUS FEATURE (ALONE WORTH THE COST OF THE BOOK)

Vote Ratings of Each Congressman and Senator Compiled by A.C.A., C.O.P.E., and A.D.A.

See at a glance how your representatives in Congress stack up in the eyes of conservative and liberal analysts.

This is the proof to awaken your friends to the voting performance of their senators and congressmen.

ACT TODAY!

HUMAN EVENTS, INC.
410 First Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Please send me.....copies of your 128 page "*Guide to Congress*" for which I enclose my check for $.....

1-5 copies $3.00 each; 5-25 copies $2.75 each; 26-75 copies $2.55 each; over 75 copies $2.25 each

NAME ..... (Print)

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....

STATE ..... ZONE .....

Books will be mailed fourth class. For first class add 60¢ per book. For air mail add $1.55 per book.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED